/374 cont./

372 built their wigwams in a manner differing from that of the western tribes, [western Yamana and Halakwulup /Alacaluf/], being made of a number of poles, or pieces of wood, placed on end around a small space, and meeting at the top" /cited in English/ (King:422). Later, (a) :140, he expresses himself even more exactly: "A Tekeenika wigwam is of a conical form, made of a number of large poles, or young trees, placed touching one another in a circle, with the small ends meeting. No Fuegians, except the Tekeenika, make their huts in this manner" /cited in English/ (11). The huts of the others,

> 11. His error may have arisen from the fact that he carried on his observations chiefly in the western part of Cape Horn and on the western Patagonian archipelago, where we find only the dome-shaped hut.

namely, the western tribal groups, "are shaped like bee-hives" /cited in English/. Hence, the eastern shore of the Hardy Peninsula must be regarded as the region where the two forms of hut mingled. Aside from that, the west was acquainted only with the dome-shaped huts (12).

> 12. More recently, Lothrop (b) :128 agrees with this geographical distribution.

[117] The advance of Europeans has increasingly lessened the isolation of the individual ethnic groups from one another, and since then the peoples of the west and east have also crossed the boundary between the zones of the types of huts. During their brief visit in strange regions, however, they conveniently retained those forms to which they had been accustomed from olden times (13). Thus, the Mission

> 13. A certain Fell (VP:VI, 180; 1859) reports that in the Wulaia region "all the wigwams here are much inferior to those we saw at Picton Island, and so are also the people" /cited in English/. He does not make clear, however, whether he means the conical or round hut.

/376 cont./

342 Scientifique still found the dome-shaped huts in the neighborhood of Cape Horn, where conical ones were already appearing, whereas on the shores of the middle and eastern Beagle Channel there were only conical huts (Hyades [cf] 363). Modern times have brought about a still more radical change with the introduction of the European iron ax, since with it and other iron tools thick trunks can be felled even in the west and south, and these are suitable for the construction of a solid conical hut (14). /377/ This explains why both types of huts

[177 412]

14. Lothrop (b):123 very emphatically points to this circumstance: "The introduction of the ax has increased the use of the pointed house form" /cited in English/. In Figure 52 he reproduces a "modern Yahgan house" of this type of construction.

were erected side by side in a few places of the middle zone, and why in a particular place one traveler spoke about this form, another about that form (15).

15. On the islands near Cape Horn in February, 1901, Dabbene (b) :178 saw the more stable, cone-shaped form of hut, which seemed strange to him. Twenty years earlier, among the Yamana of the south, the Mission Scientifique still found the dome-shaped hut.

[161] 342 177 Since the west has become completely depopulated, the last Yamana are staying mostly in the central part and in the east where European travelers have found only cone-shaped huts with a framework of thick trunks (16). One is not mistaken if he considers this more stable

16. From the indefinite accounts of other travelers we cannot reach a safe judgment about the distribution of the two types of huts during their sojourn in that region. In Bove (e):197 (also in MM:XVIII, 189; 1884) we read: "Their huts have, in general, a cone-shaped form and two doors diametrically

/375 cont./

opposite each other." On his first journey he was accompanied by the botanist Spegazzini (p).183, who became acquainted with only part of a region and who saw Indian dwellings "hemispherical in form" /translated from Italian/. His other companion, Lovisato (b).133, also speaks only of a single form of hut in which "the branches of trees are set into the ground and bent over to form a dome with other branches intertwined..." /translated from Italian/. Thus, we see that even in the reports of these three men who traveled in this region simultaneously there are obvious contradictions.

conical construction a result of the iron axe introduced there. The trunk of their ancestors required great effort to fell even as thick as an arm and to cut the heavy pole required for the framework of this more stable hut. When the last Yamana, to whom the iron axe quickly became indispensable, were restricted to the middle and eastern regions, the dome-shaped hut remains completely disappeared, so to speak, and only the cone-shaped hut, *gûlyâsh*, remained as a dwelling.

If we glance at the two neighboring tribes, we find that only the dome-shaped hut appears in the region of the Halakwulup /Alacaluf/ where the weather and the landscape are the same as in the rainy western Yamana zone, whereas in the southern part of Isla Grande the Selk'nam, the neighbors of the eastern Yamana, build only the cone-shaped hut (11).

11. I have discussed the plausibility of a modification of the hut form under the influence of the European iron axe among the northern Selk'nam (Vol. I, 138).

a. The Cone-Shaped Hut

In earlier, as well as in more recent times, the individual family built a lower or more stable construction, depending on whether

/390 cont./

of the former dwellings, which was scarcely worth maintaining, since at present the Indians do not take the trouble to dry a few seal skins and stretch them over the framework. Instead they procure /391/ light matting which lets in rain and snow and hardly keeps off gusts of the wind (47). Complete barren and illusory

47. Lafrop (b) :110 gives a similar judgment: "This kennel they have had immemorably passed generation from the weather than in the days when hunger drove them to secure many seals and consequently many seal-skins were available for kaiaques" /Cited in English/.

indolence have so completely alienated the last survivors of the race from the industry of their fathers that even the most distressing inclemency of the weather no longer rouses them from their state of lazy immobility. A few families have built small, very simple wooden houses, European style, in Puerto Natales (48).

48. They obtain the raw materials for these houses through their work as day laborers or as gifts (p. 337 /unconfirmed/). According to Lafrop (b) :110, "the material for their construction was begged, stolen, or picked up on the beach" /Cited in English/.

but they spend only a small part of the year in them. They, too, travel about for weeks in their canoes looking for food, and meanwhile concern themselves with a cover of matting on the cone-shaped framework of their flimsy hut.

4. The Community Camp

The Yaganes do not have permanent settlements in one place. There are a few occasions, however, when many families come together and remain in one place for a longer period of time. If a whale is stranded, people come from a great distance, and the

/396 cont./

372 (Vol. I, 295). They choose a straight stick, as thick as one's
442 thumb, of Berberis ilicifolia, strip it of leaves, twigs, and cracked parts of bark, smooth the surface, and split it two-thirds of its entire length which is hardly more than 65 centimeters. Afterwards the lower, split end is cut off flat. Since the tension of the wood fibers keeps the two ends spread slightly apart, these fire tongs can be easily manipulated simply with pressure (59).

[177]

59. Hyades (q):304 and Lothrop (b):130 have also described this implement briefly. The similarity in terminology between the Selk'nam and Yamana causes Lothrop to speak of a "cultural borrowing," which should not be dismissed.

137 The natives have the advantage, which they truly appreci-
313 ate, of some growth of trees throughout their homeland, even on the dreaded Cape Horn. It is lacking only on the low rocks and smooth stones that /397/ are exposed to waves and storms without any kind of protection. Wherever shallow crevices or protected ravines cut into the rocks, frail shrubs and thicker small trees cling, successfully resisting storms. The Indian finds his needed
313 fuel at every landing place, so to speak, although at some places he obtains it more easily. He prefers dry beechwood for his fire, for he dreads the damaging smoke of green logs (60). He finds it

60. Persistent watering of the eyes and slight inflammation of the eyelids are the consequences of the stinging smoke. See Hyades (q):346 and Lothrop (b):129, as well as footnote 56.

as driftwood that has been washed ashore by the waves. He also goes a few steps into the woods and breaks off dry branches with his hands. If they are higher up, he tosses the noose of his lasso around them, tugs vigorously, for beechwood is very tough, and pulls them down. He fells hollow tree trunks with the weight of his body and then splits them. As soon as a family lands, the
[157] children disperse throughout the neighborhood and gather wood which they bring to the campsite.

/400 cont./

291 everywhere soon has a destructive effect. Everything, however,
281 testifies to a far-reaching modesty in their demands and to the complete self-sufficiency of these natives, which surprises every observer.

291 It is worth emphasizing that the amount of clothing as such does not always offer the best and most healthful protection for the body. In any case, however, the consequences are disastrous, for
• [177] any people when their arrangements, which have for centuries proved serviceable, are forcefully suppressed or put aside by mistaken judges who have come from different conditions of life (65).

65. In this connection see page 315 /untranslated/ on the many disadvantages that developed for the Yamana when they adopted European clothing at the mission station and afterwards.

291 It is instructively stimulating to compare the customary
171 dress of the Yamana with that of their neighbors on either side. The Halakwulup in the west, in the same climatic conditions and like economic circumstances, have exactly the same body covering as the Yamana. The Selk'nam, on the other hand, living in a country with less precipitation, travel by day and do not make an open fire until evening to protect themselves for the cold night. They do not rub as much fat onto their bodies, but instead wrap themselves in a wide, well-fitting cloak of soft guanaco leather. Since they have less chance to remain beside an open fire, they seek a substitute in a warmer piece of clothing. This proves how intelligently and sensitively every tribe has chosen what is most serviceable and advantageous from among the few possibilities offered by its environment.

291 If we regard as body covering the inconsequential piece of leather that the Yamana hang around themselves, Lothrop:121 is right when he says: "It is no exaggeration to remark that, considering the climate in which they had to live, this southernmost tribe had less body-covering than any other people in /401/ the world" /cited in English/. Anything less in the way of body protection than the Yamana have in their frosty Cape Horn region cannot be imagined.

/402 cont./

291 toward the wind, for it hangs very loosely on a single strip of leather drawn around the neck. When they go to sleep at night, they untie this cape and use it as a cover. Fortunately, our Indians have such an enviable ability to curl themselves up that most of the body is covered by this tiny piece of leather.

291 It is principally the small sea lion that furnishes its skin for this cape. Sometimes two small pieces are sewed together.
291 The edges are cut fairly evenly. In the southern regions the man also uses a small cloak made of two or three otter skins, whereas the inhabitants of the east wear a similarly large fur piece from the guanaco. As we know, guanacos are easily obtainable on Navarino Island and on the north shore of eastern Beagle Channel. Sea lions are less common. It is possible that the eastern Yamana, •[177] following the example of the neighboring Selk'nam, have only in the most recent times made the wider and longer cloak that covers the entire body. Originally they used it as little as did the other groups (68).

68. Bridges writes: "The natives of the shores of Beagle Channel are frequently enrobed in a guanaco skin; not the beautiful guanaco robes used by the Patagonians, but the coarse shaggy skins of the grown animals which the Patagonians use only as tent covers" (VP:III, 117; 1856) /cited in English/.

291 The cape does not demand any care, and when it is worn out, it can easily be replaced. The fur side is advantageously worn on the outside. If the layer of fur were next to the skin, a great deal of dirt and perspiration would accumulate, one's skin would be scratched or irritated by the larger bristles, /403/ and the entire piece would become hard and stiff, since the leather would constantly be exposed to rain. The layer of leather, however, although soaked with blubber, is lubricated, so to speak, by the oily skin of the body on which it lies, and this keeps it soft longer. Moreover, the rain easily drips off the layer of fur worn outside and cannot soak through the whole piece. The decisive factor, as I learned, is that the Indians find the layer of fur uncomfortable against the naked skin of their bodies. No wonder, since even this light cape

/403 cont./

291 often feels annoying or uncomfortable to them. In the hut and in the canoe, at work and on the hunt, the man carelessly lets it fall by loosening the leather knot, and he feels better now than he did before. He wants to be entirely free for the goal he happens to be pursuing. The piece is durable, but it gets hard wear and is given no care at all. After only a few weeks it is shabby and torn at the edges, but the man drags it about for more than half a year (69).

69. The following authors mention this back cape of the men: Aspinall:270, Bove (e):157, Dabbene (b): 176, Hyades (p) :337, Lothrop (b) :121, Snow (a) :II, 16, Spegazzini (a) :161, and others.

291 Most of the men at all times and everywhere wear a cover-
888 ing over the genitals which is somewhat larger than that worn by
834 the women. They prefer a smooth piece of leather from which the fur has been entirely removed. It is, of course, used only for the sake of decency. Nevertheless, some old men become so careless that they almost habitually go without it. When they sit or stand, their conduct betrays a certain bashfulness, it is true, but this feeling is no longer strong enough in them that they would go to the trouble of wearing a covering. The people generally do not like to see young or middle-aged persons completely naked, but no one dares to remonstrate with old men. Nevertheless, the latter, when they are sitting, take care that their nakedness does not offend the eyes of those present. Defiant nakedness is not approved on principle.

291 In olden times neither footgear nor any kind of foot cover-
177 ing was known. Whereas it was always lacking among the people of the Cape Horn region, as Hyades (q) :348 maintains (70), it was

70. Fitz-Roy (a) :138 in his day reported of the southern people that "neither men nor women have any substitute for shoes" /cited in English/.

probably only in recent times that regular sandals of guanaco and seal skins were adopted in the middle and eastern region. Some

291 [177]

/403 cont./
influence by the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 213) cannot be dismissed, while in the west it may have come from the Halakwulup, for the latter wear sandals of sealskin, as do their northern neighbors, the now extinct Chono and the Araucanian natives of the Chiloé Archipelago (71).

71. On May 25, 1867, Bridges reported on a journey to the east: "The snow is about a foot deep, and it freezes hard every night, and some of the men wear mocassins" (MM:I, 164; 1867) /cited in English/. He does not describe these sandals; they may have been adopted from the Halakwulup.

/404/ The Yamana sandals, kíli, have almost the same cut as those of the Selk'nam (Fig. 15). A piece of hide from the guanaco or the sea lion, about 65 centimeters long and 20 centimeters wide, is cut to form approximately a rectangle. A few holes are punched close together across the wider of the two narrow ends and in the upper half near the edges. The foot is placed upon it in such a way that the front flap of leather is turned back over the toes and the dorsal part of the foot. The side edges are then folded up, and the perpendicular seam over the heel is laced with a short strap of leather. Beginning directly over the toes /Fig. 15 appears here/ the free ends of a single strap are drawn through the holes lying one above the other parallel to the edges, and the strap is fastened over the instep. Straw or moss is used to stuff the sandal, in which the foot stands warm and dry. Since the fur is on the outside, the foot has sufficient grip on the ground. Moreover, the hairs on the sole of the sandal always point forward, which prevents slipping. The leather is quickly softened by the damp earth, and the foot itself adjusts its grip to every kind of footing. In view of this, the sandals prove superior to European footgear, especially on treks over the uneven, wet forest floor. The packing rots quickly and becomes musty, but it is renewed without any trouble.

It is true that the sandals of sealskin have an even more

291 /404 cont./
unpleasant odor (72) when they are soaked by wet earth than those of guanaco skin, which are called ā̆mĕr̆ ăkĭlĭ (73). The latter

73. The western Yamana did not know this word; they almost always went barefoot.

are worn much less commonly by the Yamana, since sealskin is handier and more convenient for him. He wears his sandals for the most part only on longer treks through the forest, hardly ever in the hut or in the canoe. In spite of the many advantages they

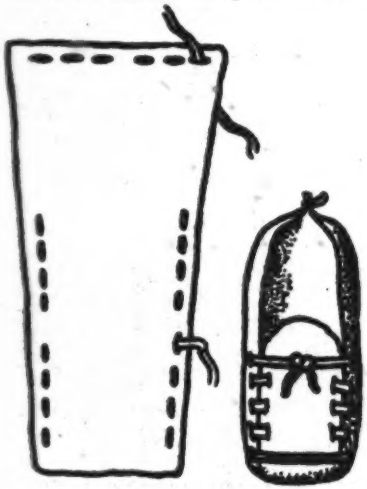

Fig. 15. Sandal.

afford, most men never wear them, even though going barefoot in some places is very disagreeable (see Bridges in VSA: SI, 260; 1864).

• [177] In the east where the guanaco is easy to hunt, the men, presumably under the influence of the Selk'nam, learned to wear a type of leggings /405/ that form a tube-like protection for the lower calves. The piece of leather, cut like a trapezoid, is put on with the woolly side against the lower calf and is laced across the back lengthwise with a narrow leather band, so that it clings tightly to the leg. They protect themselves on tramps through the snow with these bā̆a, according to BD:164, "leggings used only when hunting guanaco in snowy weather" /cited in English/

/411 cont./

291 they alternately turn one side of the body and then the other to the fire, each time pushing their cape in the opposite direction with a slight movement of the hand.

Misdirected sympathy that knows nothing about the advantages of all the resources our natives have for the protection of their bodies pities them unduly and underestimates their wise judgment in the things they have expediently invented and chosen for themselves. As a matter of fact, they avoid much damage to their health because they do not tolerate material that clings to their bodies. Frequent rain and snow, wet air, and the vigorous splashing of waves which constantly wash them promote a healthy skin which is good for the whole organism. The short back-cape with its rough leather side turned toward the skin also acts as a gentle rubbing agent. If all this were omitted with a change in the mode of dress, what equivalent would the Indian have? To begin with, he does not have to be afraid of uneven warmth and of weakening the parts of his body that are covered among other
291 peoples. With their pure sensibilities, and even more, their dis-
●177 cerning judgment, these natural people were not unaware of all the harm that followed the later introduction of clothing to which they were not accustomed. Their effort to reject the foreign, unhealthful coercion was instinctive. Nowadays the last survivors are quite frank about their conviction that European clothing, ũka, and diet, together with imported diseases and alcoholic beverages, have caused the swift destruction of their people (p. 339 /untranslated/).

302 The inhabitants of those distant islands need never reckon with extreme cold, although the weather and the air are always damp and cool. If the heat of the fire should be inadequate or if there is a long trek in prospect and it is very cold, they protect themselves by thoroughly rubbing the entire body with a mixture of blubber and red powder from burnt clay. Ordinarily scarcely any dampness clings to the skin of the body which has been amply greased, and sometimes one sees rain or sea water fall off in drops. This layer of thick grease is a protection also in that it retains the person's own body warmth (86). This was also true in the case of the

86. Aspinall:270, mentioning this expedient, wrote: They "have the habit of rubbing their

/411 cont./

302 bodies with an ointment made of blubber and red earth, which probably also affords some protection against the cold." Before that, Snow (b):264 mentioned it: "The only thing they do to keep more warm is to rub themselves over with grease and ochreous earth" /cited in English/. Fitz-Roy (a):139 mentioned the same purpose: "Both sexes oil them selves, or rubb /sic/ their bodies with grease" /cited in English/. Spears:53 also mentions this custom and adds: "Had the early explorers imitated instead of despised the Jahgan, they would have had fewer tales of suffering to tell" /cited in English/.

single anointment with blubber of the whale /412/ or sea lion. This made every person glisten with oil from head to foot, which had a most amazing effect on European travelers and missionaries until they became accustomed to the sight. This simple and very effective measure was available to everyone, and they all liked to use it when cold winds blew or when there was heavy rain. Such
[117] an anointment with blubber is no longer possible with the European clothing that is customary today. Instead, every article of clothing is full of dirt and grease.

291 In spite of everything, the extremely meager body protection of our Indians proves their great power of resistance against the extreme inclemency of the weather in their homeland and their undemanding contentment. Even though their one article of clothing is serviceable and their open fire an indispensable advantage, there would still be room for a few simple comforts. Compared with the neighboring Selk'nam, our Yamana are obviously in a somewhat less favorable position.

5. Preparation of Furs and Skins

281 Our Indians need the furs and skins of their game animals (87),

87. In some places the Indian has a good selection. Thus Bridges wrote on June 4, 1864, about his visit

/420 cont./

136 515 Europeans it has been replaced by a larger, gray one. Despite their unmistakably lesser degree of sensitivity, the Indians find this vermin a torture. A mother will sympathetically pick lice from her child, crushing them between her fingernails or teeth (97).

97. Hyades (q):348 briefly mentions "the hunt for parasites (Pediculi capitis) to which they devote themselves in their moments of leisure" /translated from French/.

No one minds having his neighbor restlessly scratch his head. In the long, quiet intervals beside the evening fire in the hut these sounds, produced by first one and then another of those present, are a frequent /421/ interruption. The individual gets no relief, however, in spite of all his scratching, and they hardly ever lose patience throughout this torture.

In the last decades the clothes louse (Pediculus vestimentorum) [177] has also spread throughout the region, introduced by Europeans. The older people do not recall this pest; the general conditions for its development were poor in any case. When a person removes his clothing -- nowadays everyone wears only European clothing -- the well-known traces of lice are revealed all over his body. These people are constantly scratching their bodies. I cannot say whether Pediculus pubis is present, but this species also is probably not entirely absent.

[142] 302 The head hair of the Yamana is naturally black, stiff, and thick. Although it is liberally greased with blubber, dirt and lice prevent it from ever being soft and attractively shiny. It grows moderately long, and among women it reaches about to their shoulders, which is why it does not lend itself to a particular type of coiffure. Everyone wears his hair open and loose; it lies on their head in thick strands. Some women cut the hair on their forehead at their eyebrows (98). Occasionally, if a person does

98. Hyades (q):330 speaks of "hair cut in front 'dog fashion' " /translated from French/. Lothrop (b):194 expresses himself in more general terms.

/421 cont./

302 not want to be bothered with it, he ties a narrow strap, a tendon, or a few stalks of rushes around his head to hold it. A man even uses his sling for this purpose. If women bend their heads, the hair falls forward and covers the whole face, but they never tire of pushing it aside. Bove (e):157 wrote: "Men and women wear very long hair that falls to their shoulders; only a few fasten it with a leather band. Most of them, however, let it grow so wild that both sexes look more like furies than human beings."

The men like to shorten their hair. That is the only difference in the so-called hair style of the two sexes. They use a [42] flat mussel shell, spread a small tuft of hair on it, and draw a sharp-edged shell over it in a sawing motion until the ends fall off. Then they take the next tuft, until they have done the whole head in this fashion. It cannot be helped that the hair-cutter grows tired; the other must endure much plucking and pulling; and the whole job is very irregular.

Modest grooming of the hair is not entirely lacking, however, Despard /422/ learned from an Indian that "only women [42] use oil to make fine hair; then comb very smooth with porpoise jaw" (VP:VI, 55; 1859) /cited in English/. Both sexes alike regard the secondary body hair as ugly and in bad taste. For this reason men pluck their sparse beard hair, and all adults their underarm and pubic hair, with their fingernails or with two shells that fit one on top of the other. Older people become careless [177] about this. In most recent times the men let their beards grow, in order to be like Europeans. Now one can easily see that they 142 do not produce more than isolated hairs on the lip and chin (99). 302

99. In this connection Bove (c):126 says that "the men, besides being beardless, habitually pull out the little beard hair that they have, and the two sexes have no hair of any kind on the body" /translated from Spanish/. Lovisato (b):129 agrees. Fitz-Roy (a):175 had mentioned: "They would have a straggling beard, but scrupulously pull out every hair with tweezers made of muscle-shells" /cited in English/. According to Despard (VP:IV, 185; 1857)

/422 cont./

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"they were beardless. One or two of the older men had some hair on their faces, which, while talking, they were continually engaged in twitching out" /cited in English/. And Bove (MM:XVIII, 188; 1884) says: "The men have very little beard, and even that little they are accustomed to tear out or cut off with shells" /cited in English/.

In general, they have only very little and faint hair on their

[42]

Fig. 18. Upper Jaw of Porpoise Used as Comb. Natural size.

bodies; in this respect they resemble the Selk'nam. /Fig. 18 appears here./

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Under the influence of Whites, younger and middle-aged Yamana have learned not only to dress in modern fashion, but also to wash their faces with soap and to arrange their hair with a comb. Vain chaps shave with imported razors.

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To loosen the hair matted with dirt and lice, not so much because of a desire for cleanliness but because of the discomfort, they use a somewhat coarse comb. It comes in three styles. The most easily obtainable is the upper jaw of the porpoise which is about 12 centimeters long and has two rows of short teeth (Fig. 18). It is occasionally found on the beach where it is so excellently cleaned of all organic matter by wood lice and other lower animals that it can be used without any further preparation. At first this bone is still greasy, which is beneficial for the hair. At any rate it is very easy to use and durable. This comb is called ustánim. Even an otter skull, cleaned of all meat /423/ and without the lower jaw, serves as a comb as long as the few and

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/423 cont./
describe, but does speak of "a piece of the upper jaw from a dolphin or porpoise, with teeth" /translated from French/.

[237] As a makeshift when the two objects mentioned above are not available, they gather a bunch of bird feathers and tie them together at the bottom with a fiber of tendon. The bunch of feathers is grasped with the fist, and the quills are drawn through the hair, like the teeth of a comb (102). Girls like to

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102. According to Fitz-Roy's terse words (a) :139, the hair grooming of the Indian women is confined to the following: "The hair of the women is longer, less coarse, and certainly cleaner than that of the men. It is combed with the jaw of a porpoise, but neither platted nor tied; and none is cut away, excepting from over their eyes" /cited in English/.

make this ïïtúku ukúnim as playful dawdling, and conveniently loosen their hair with it.

515 Little though the Yamana heed a clean body, they nevertheless appreciate a clean person who washes often and keeps his hair combed. Many mothers care for their children; others appear disgustingly dirty and completely neglected. Such differences are not infrequently a topic of conversation among the old people who criticize in one case and praise in the other. At any rate it shows that a natural feeling for cleanliness is not entirely lacking. In spite of the many useful things that Europeans have brought them, they will never rise above a certain level of uncleanliness because they are inseparably bound to their conditions of life. The European clothing which everybody wears nowadays is likewise covered with dirt and fish oil. Because of it fresh air and beneficial rain can no longer act directly on the skin, hence their bodies are always covered with a thick, malodorous crust of dirt. Thus, the abandonment of their former sparse body covering is slowly but badly undermining the vitality and health of these Indians, who are themselves aware of it.

[17]

/434 cont./

301 wound around two or three times, in other words, several meters long. Thicker bunches of tendon are held together by a short thread wound around them crosswise at certain intervals. This neck ornament is called hupuxkémak. "These braids are a kind of necklace for only the women; they are arranged in a number of circles, held at a single or at several points /435/ by means of a little strand of hair" /translated from French/ (Hyades [q]:349) (116). Although each of these pieces is in

116. He also says (q):299 about these: "Another type of necklace is made simply by several twists of braid worn at the neck; a glass bead from the French Mission was sometimes hung on this necklace" /translated from French/.

[237] itself greasy, they brush it with fish oil alone or with a mixture of fish oil and red pigment, so that the short fibers do not stick out unattractively.

301 237 [283] The strings of guanaco tendons separated into fine fibers are generally called amęsa uswúmi; those of whale bone, used alike for sewing and braiding, are called wąpisa uswúmi. On these simple braided tendons the Indians sometimes string short pieces, fairly uniform in length and shape, of the hollow cylindrical bones of a bird, usually the cormorant. More rarely they use the well-known calcareous formations of the tube worm, which they cut into small pieces from 30 to 40 millimeters in length. The smaller and more regular they are, the more they are prized. They sometimes also insert two or four red beaks of the oyster catcher (Haematopus ater) at suitable intervals, and for some time ●[177] now, even coins, glass beads, and other European baubles (117).

117. Wieghardt:23 writes: "The necklace worn in two or three twists around the neck is at times adorned by a beak of the oyster bird [Haematopus ater], animal teeth, or little shells" /translated from Spanish/.

501 /440 cont./

and the great efficiency of the bark boat, but have described the details only very superficially. Cooper: 197 simply listed the bibliography of the best descriptions.

[171] We should like to mention briefly that this bark canoe, ánan (or, more completely, ajyúšu ánan), is actually very similar in its design and principal parts to the one that the neighboring Halakwulup make (Fig. 25).

a. The Bark Pieces

396 The vessel characteristic of the Yamana since ancient times is a canoe made out of three large pieces of bark. This is the one we shall describe in what follows. Most of our natives have in most recent times turned to the canoe made out of a single trunk and to the flat boat, but this happened only since Europeans [177] brought them the iron ax.

396 313 The entire region is more or less densely supplied with Antarctic beeches, but straight, thick trunks that furnish a smooth, even sheet of bark of sufficient length are found only singly and usually deep in the interior of an island. To discover these is probably the only reason a man is obliged to venture deep into the forest. Usually two or three men join together in the search, if for no other reason than because it is difficult for a single man to loosen the thick bark, ajyúšu, from the trunk and because no one goes alone for great distances in the woods (123). This traveling

123. As Hyades (q):350 says: "the chief concern of the Fuegians is to select the best bark; it is often necessary for them to take a long journey to find it" /translated from French/. Despard (b):679 adds: "a man, having associated three others, proceeds into the forest for four or five miles" /cited in English/.

hither and yon is frequently laborious and requires great effort. They almost always decide on Nothofagus betuloides, šéŕ ci, which

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E. Dugout Canoe and Skiff

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With the tools that our Yamana had until they became more familiar with European iron implements, it was impossible for them to build any vessel other than the bark canoe which we have just described. It is only in the last fifty years that some men have built actual dugout canoes. Later they adopted the flat skiff.

1. The dugout. Without doubt our Yamana first saw this vessel in the possession of the neighboring Halakwulup. They had long before adopted it and occasionally appeared in the Yamana region. The Whites brought them the iron ax much earlier, and only with it were they able to hollow out a tree trunk properly. /458/ There is no difficulty in providing historical proof for this innovation among our southernmost Fuegians. In early July, 1876, Bridges (i):15 was on Isla Smoke in the Seno Ladrones, straight north of Stewart Island. Here he entered the following in his diary: "A native of these parts is on board, who by report is a maker of wooden canoes. It is very desirable for the sake of the Eastern natives to clear up the matter about these luputuj-anan, wooden canoes which have been for ages a source of continual fear to the Eastern" /cited in English/. The central and eastern Yamana groups actually do regard the extreme Westerners as murderers and cannibals, which is a subject we shall treat in detail below. On July 25, 1876, Bridges found such a specimen lying unused in the woods, "a hallowed /sic/ tree, 29 feet long, two feet through in widest part and three feet high. It is well hollowed out, but being so narrow is very crank and was left by its maker as of no use" /cited in English/. It was not until two years later, on February 2, 1878, that Bridges (i):16 saw the first fully occupied dugout in Yendegaia: "The wooden canoe of which we have heard so much came alongside this morning. It is a most ungainly object. It is very large and contains twenty persons easily. It was an immense piece of work" /cited in English/. Following this model (151), a few Yamana of the central areas also replaced

151. Lothrop (b):145, differing from my account, asserts: "The first dugout canoe used

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by the Yahgan was made near Ushuaia about 1880 by an Indian known as John Furnem" /cited in English/. That "this innovation apparently was an independent invention" /cited in English/, I cannot accept; the above historical data are proof of this.

their ancient bark canoe (152). This is emphatically confirmed

> 152. The Yamana never adopted the actual raft, such as Bridges (i):16 saw for the first time on February 16, 1883, in the possession of the Halakwulup, which consisted of five long planks sewed together. They probably never adopted it because they soon learned how to build the skiff.

by a report in La Nature:275: "The Yahgan...more rarely hollow out the trunk of a tree and give it the shape of a canoe (during the entire year 'La Romanche' saw only one single vessel of this type)" /translated from French/.

In the following years this new form almost completely superseded the bark vessel in all sections of the Fuegian area (153).

> 153. On January 2, 1902, Mr. Pringle wrote: "The Yahgans now make very few bark-canoes; they mostly use dug-outs" (MM:XXXVI, 49; 1902) /cited in English/. Exactly two decades earlier Martial: 191 announced: "We have found in Beagle Channel one of these canoes hollowed out of the trunk of a tree" /translated from French/.

Dabbene (b):181 was impelled to confess: "Today this kind of vessel [of bark] is no longer made, and the one used at present by the Yahgan is hollowed out from the trunk of a tree" /translated from Spanish/. Furlong (b):128 also mentions without qualification that "the Yahgan constructs his canoe of a heavy beech

501 /458 cont./
177 log" /cited in English/.

For about 20 years the dugout actually did rule supreme, while the bark canoe became more and more scarce. Since then a flat skiff has made its appearance, and today every family owns one of them.

396 /459/ There is not much to say about the construction and form of the dugout. A sound trunk was needed for it, which Nothofagus betuloides usually offered. It had to be quite smooth, straight, and tall enough so that when it was finished it corresponded in length to the medium-sized bark canoe. It was about a third narrower than the latter, whatever the thickness of the selected trunk. The tree was felled with blows of an ax, and the upper part, along with the crown, was cut off. Then the stump was trimmed. After the bark was peeled off, a short section of the curvature of the trunk was cut away, the two edges of which later became the gunwale. Then the hollowing-out process began and continued until the walls were reduced to a thickness of three to five centimeters. The natural curvature of the outer surface was retained, and only the bow was made blunt at the end. The work was extraordinarily facilitated if the cross-cut at the end was not retained. Instead, a small, U-shaped board was nailed on, which had to be carefully calked.

Sometimes the men made it easier for themselves by burning out the trunk, still upright, from below, but they guarded the fire well to make sure that the body of the prospective boat would not have holes in it. This procedure was advisable when the inner tissues of the trunk were largely rotten while the thick layer of wood fibers under the bark was still intact. One often finds such phenomena in the Antarctic beech forest.

The long open sides of the thin-walled body of the boat were widened at the top in the following manner. They spread a thick, protective layer of sand lengthwise and about 20 centimeters wide, and smeared the sides thickly with blubber. Then they placed glowing wood embers, evenly distributed, upon the entire layer of sand. The intense heat was transferred to the walls and made them somewhat expansible. This explains why every dugout looks as though it had been charred and burned. Suitable short thwarts squeezed in between the two side walls forced the latter apart and

/480 cont./

50/ abandoned this new invention. Today we run across an occasional dugout used for short trips; a new one has not been made for three decades.

501 126 On my second trip I brought back to the museum in Santiago (Gusinde [b]:145) a dugout that had for years lain in the woods untouched near the mouth of the Rio Douglas. As Lothrop (b):146 says: "the last double-ended dugout afloat was purchased and is now in the Museum [of the American Indian in New York]. When purchased it had been in the water many years and was unbelievably heavy" /cited in English/. In short, anyone who owns a 501 dugout, like old Pedro, uses it as long as it is still serviceable; middle aged men have long since adopted the skiff. In a period of about 40 years the dugout came into use among the Yamana and disappeared again (155).

155. In this connection Spencer:88 says briefly: "Bark canoe precedes dug-out, which has now and for some years past entirely replaced bark" /cited in English/.

396 [439 177] 2. The Flat Skiff. Since the sawmills were started on Beagle Channel by Europeans, the natives can easily obtain good boards of different thicknesses. They are also given nails and iron strips. If they cannot buy their own tools, they borrow them everywhere. They do not lack the skill to make a low, short skiff. It must be wide because it is short and low. They curve the gunwale and produce a noticeably elevated bow with a sharp keel that slants backward. This makeshift (156) has /461/ no advan-

156. Lothrop (b):146 gives a short description and an illustration of it.

tages over a European construction, except for the tin can that is placed in the center for the fire. In the forward part they nail a narrow wooden crosspiece with a small hole in the middle. Into this is placed a short mast. If a light breeze comes up from the 502 rear, they hoist a piece of sacking, remnants of a woman's skirt,

/461 cont./

582 or some other rag as a sail on the yard, the end of which is tied to the edge of the boat by means of two or three thin ropes. Sometimes they are satisfied to stretch the rag between two strips of wood and hold it up high until their arms become tired (157).

157. Wieghardt:31 writes: "Some kind of rag or a seal skin is hoisted as a sail, sewed with rush fibers to a small yard supported by a mast held in one of the crosspieces" /translated from Spanish/. Compare Martial:130. Formerly the Yamana did not know of this expedient, for, as Wilhelmi:194 maintains, "they never make use of a sail" /cited in English/.

501 177 This flat skiff no longer reveals anything of native art. It is only through Europeans that the last survivors of the Yamana people have been able to put together the skiff described here, which, compared to their original bark canoe, has many advantages. It permits them to use a sail, *ahui*, of some kind, which the light construction of the bark canoe would not permit. With this new vessel they also adopted the long oars which are not suitable for paddling because of their shape.

501 178 All the available historical sources, beginning with the first writings of the Dutch admiral L'Hermite, confirm, without exception, that the bark canoe was the only method of transportation of the Yamana until the last decades, and that it was always put together in exactly the same way (158). Its advantages and its

158. Cooper:197 likewise came to the conclusion that "throughout the whole territory, the bark canoes were constructed in the same way of three or more pieces sewed together, with thwarts and ribs and with pointed ends" /cited in English/. Lovisato (a):189 regards the bark canoe as "the most ingenious work by these poor people of Fuegia, which, however, from Drake to us, for 300 years then, has remained the same" /translated from Italian/.

efficiency have been described in detail above. Every careful observer will admit that neither the dugout nor the flat skiff compare with the bark canoe in technical construction and suitable form.

/460 cont./

48 171 find is on the specimens in the Göttingen Museum. This point may seem trivial, but actually the early Tehuelche were not so exact in making a bow sinew as the Selk'nam. That is why they never applied the fine decorated edge upon which the Selk'nam laid great store (Vol. I, 333). It has been proved that the inhabitants of Isla Grande gave many a bow to their neighboring cousins. However, since the old bow sinews described here lack the even and delicately ribbed surface, they are almost certainly recognizable as a genuine product of the Tehuelche. The latter have actually altered nothing in the form and shape of their bow sinews for the past three centuries (147).

147. Hyades (1):381 confirms "that the bow and arrow of the pennis does not seem to have varied from that of the first European travelers in Fuegia" /translated from French/. In his works (1):31 and (2):Plate XXXI, he illustrates a bow that Bougainville picked up in Puerto Gallant on the Strait of Magellan in January, 1768. There is no question that this specimen comes from the Halakwulup. Since, as Hyades maintains, it "does not differ in any respect from the present bow" /translated from French/ of the Tehuelche, his words substantiate what I said in the beginning about the widespread uniformity of the bows of all Fuegian tribes.

48 283 For the bowstring, the people in the region of the Selk'nam and Haush without exception use the thick tendon cords from the legs of guanacos. The eastern Tehuelche do likewise, the other groups choose for this also thick bundles of tendons of the principal, the woolly Tehuelche, probably in imitation of the Halakwulup, even use the hide of the sea lion in a strip three millimeters wide (148). On the two bows which James Cook

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148. Hyades (2):228 inaccurately says that "the string is a vegetable thong or a cord of a whale sinew" /translated from French/. The tendon fibers of large seals are used much more often.

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places on the edge of the little piece of stone, and by exerting strong pressure with slight turning, he gouges out tiny shell-shaped splinters very close together. In other words, he presses off fine flakes, little by little, from the entire piece until the desired shape is achieved. The upper and lower surface are easier to work because larger splinters can be broken off. It is much harder to shape the tang exactly. For the last few decades broken glass has been used instead of quartz; it can be worked much more easily and goes more quickly.

On my second expedition I gave old Alfredo a piece of thick bottle-glass and asked him to make a dagger point nine inches long, with the usual triangular shape and the adjoining tang. He was particularly pleased when, under the pressure of the little bone stick, the tiny particles of glass chipped off with a crunching sound. To my surprise he finished the beautiful point in 35 minutes, without having hurried unduly. He confessed: "To make a point of quartz of the same size for an arrow, a capable Yamana needs a whole /WHOLE/ day." Nowadays, instead of the customary small bone stick, they use a thick iron nail or an iron awl (172).

[177]

Fig. 35. Arrowheads of Slate, Bone, and Flint. Natural size.

172. Hyades (1):34 and (2):368 mentions that "the Fuegian Jokeâl simply cut the glass which was to form the point by scraping a piece of window glass with a knife. When he did not have glass he used a fragment of stone (flint)" /translated from French/.

411 /468 cont./
[177] introduced by Europeans.

Our Yamana have the lead over the Selk'nam in that they even use bone for arrowheads. The proportion of these to slate and quartz arrowheads can no longer be determined (173). They

173. In any case it is an unjustified generalization when Lothrop (b):156 maintains: "The arrowhead was of bone, cut to the Ona pattern with two barbs" /cited in English/.

also have the triangular shape, but the adjoining tang is wide at the top, between the two lateral corners, and tapers downward. The triangle itself is about 33 millimeters high, whereas the tang is 13 millimeters long. The little teeth on both sides are filed with the fine edges and individual splinters of sandstone. These sides are not sharp since they are slightly rounded; hence these bone points are effective because of the force of the thrust rather than because of their edges which are dull (Fig. 32).

The tang of the points mentioned above is set into the upper notch of the arrow shaft, without being cemented in. They are merely wound tight with a damp thread of sinew which, when dry, gives the desired rigidity. This thread of sinew would be too weak for a bone point. Hence the latter is held in the notch with a narrow strip of leather and by means of much tight lashing. The natives from the start know that now and then the shaft of the arrow will slide off while the bone point remains stuck in a wounded animal.

411 Finally, at the opposite end, feathers are added after the
237 model of the Selk'nam arrow. They prefer the hard wing-feathers of the cormorant. "On either side of this extremity they fasten a feather, the quill of which has been split and tied on by means of a fine lashing of bird gut (174) which passes at almost

174. Alfredo assured me that for this lashing the sinews of otter or sea lion are particularly suitable.

uniform intervals between three or four barbs of these small
411 feathers. The feathers are so well attached that one would think

/468 cont./

411 there is only a single one" (Hyades [h]:37) /translated from French/. Both wings of this feathering are exactly perpendicular to the shaft and opposite each other. The feathering extends almost down to the lowest notch and is altogether about 25 millimeters long, whereas the entire arrow is about 70 centimeters.

411 Today we are no longer able to find out in what quantities
177 our Yamana took over arrowheads directly from the Selk'nam; it did actually happen. Not only did the old men assure me of this, but in the piles of shells on the eastern Beagle Channel we find such points made of obsidian which are rare in central areas and almost entirely absent in the west. Whether the stimulus for making this characteristic /469/ form of the arrowhead was transferred from the Yamana to the Selk'nam or vice versa remains a question which cannot be solved in this context alone, but which is not without some significance.

γ. The Quiver

28/ Obviously the Fuegian arrows are delicate constructions,
411 and they are carefully stored. The most durable quiver is made of the leather of pinnipeds; the one of otter leather is more highly valued because it is more beautiful. Martial:192 mentions only the latter. The quiver is a longish, narrow bag, with a loop sewed to the upper part to serve as a handle. To achieve this shape, the natives cut a long rectangle out of leather, place the two longitudinal edges together and sew them up. For the bottom they set in a small oval piece of leather, which is also sewed on. The quiver is always slightly longer than the arrows so that they will not stick out and break off; it is about 15 centimeters wide. Each individual arrow is slid into the quiver with the point downward. When one is needed, the end of the shaft is grasped between the feathering with the tip of the thumb and index finger and immediately placed on the bowstring.

411 This brief description also fits perfectly the quiver of the
[171] Selk'nam (Vol. I, 240), which, however, is a little longer and wider. The eastern Yamana are familiar only with this one of leather, whereas the people of the central area and the west not infrequently make a quiver out of two moderately curved pieces of

/480 cont./

411 shape and usually an almost rectangular tang (Fig. 39); the latter is inserted into the notch. Of decisive importance is the longitudinal measurement, for it is usually more than twice as much as a point on the arrow shaft. The former does not seem suitable for an arrowhead because of its size and weight. Since, moreover, it is fastened to a short stick, I regard the designation "dagger" as suitable for this weapon. It is also handled as such. A man grasps [225] the back third of the shaft and stabs toward a sea lion that he meets on land. He attacks it from the front, never from the side, and can get close enough to it without being bitten to thrust the dagger into its neck.

For the dagger points the natives formerly chose flat lamina of [177] black slate and greenish jasper; in modern times they prefer thick bottle-glass that is more easily worked. The edges of the glass

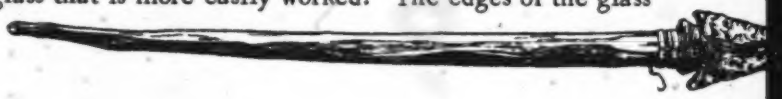

Fig. 38. The Dagger. One-third natural size.

dagger-points cut more sharply, but become dull more quickly. Continuous splintering under pressure with a short bone stick produces /481/ the form with the sharp edges and thick point. On my [126] second expedition, old Alfredo made me a dagger with a long glass point and with a total length of 48 centimeters (188). This

188. This piece is today preserved in the Museo Histórica at Santiago de Chile. See the observations made by Hyades (q):360 with the Indian named Yakaif.

enabled me to see how it was made and at the same time to learn in detail how it is actually manipulated.

From the dagger to the lance is only a short step. Sometimes it, too, has a large, heavy point in the form of a triangle. It must [172] come as a surprise that laurel-leaf forms of the /Fig. 39 appears here/ most frequent surface-finds on Isla Grande (Vol. I, 263) have to this day been found only very sporadically throughout the broad Cape Horn Archipelago. This lance is used in the same way and for the same

[Text continues on page 172.-Analyst]

/484 cont./
411 around some part of their body to have it quickly accessible at
482 any time, but it is not regarded as an ornament (195). The

195. Hyades (h):33 expressed the surprising view: "We must therefore admit that the sling of the Yahgan is as much an ornamental object for men as it is a weapon for hunting or war" /translated from French/.

[142 302]

Fig. 41. Man with a Sling.

Yamana use it not only to stun birds, but also in fighting against their own people.

411 /485/ All indications point to the fact that the sling was used in all parts of the Cape Horn Archipelago./Fig. 41 appears here./ Every man and boy owned and owns one. When the Mission Scientifique arrived in Orange Bay, according to Hyades (q):357, every man carried his sling. This was customary throughout the entire area occupied by this tribe. Lothrop (b):157 indulges in vain speculation about the origin of the sling and says "that the Ona had acquired knowledge of this weapon from the Yaghan" /cited in English/. I cannot agree with this view; I shall not go into his evidence and mine at this point. Instead, I take the view of Snow (b):264 that the Yamana "are remarkably expert with their slings" /cited in English/. Obviously, the fact that they own and use the sling also proves "their ingenuity" /cited in English/.

[177]

8. Snares and Fishing Implements

223 Our Yamana are fortunate in having a wide selection
226 among the animals of their homeland to meet their food needs. They approach each species in a special way in order to catch them as easily and surely as possible. Besides the weapons mentioned

/490 cont./

226 line. When the fish has been brought near the surface, she reaches down and grasps it with a sure hand, pushing her second and third finger under each gill cover. After she has lifted it out of the water, she bites through its neck and kills it.

227 /491/ The snares and fishing implements used by our Yamana show extreme appropriateness. Each one of these things proves that it enables the Indian, with a small amount of effort, to get the wild animals he wants or is stalking.

9. Tools

412 324 The Fuegians have not yet advanced to a universal or even preponderant use of stone tools. To blame this on the sparse occurrence of quartzite and slate in those regions is not sufficient explanation. When iron and glass were introduced by Europeans, [177] the natives used these materials immediately, albeit in limited measure, without, however, changing the original form of their implements or replacing them by others. Actual working of the stone seems necessary only in the case of stone arrowheads and dagger points (p. 169). It cannot be definitely shown whether these Fuegians also shaped the round black stone with a groove, known as tesi. Hence the greater part of their tools consists of mussel shells, wood, and bone. This fact can be easily ascertained from the accounts of earlier navigators.

The following description pertains to those items as they were made before being influenced by Europeans. We must credit our Fuegians with considerable cultural progress by reason of the fact that they succeeded in making a number of implements of different construction and form, each with a very definite use.

412 461 We should like to mention briefly here a peculiar form of behavior of the Yamana which Lothrop (b):139 has also referred to. When they need anything for their implements, they do not take the trouble to make a thorough search for a good piece or await an opportunity to come across a better part. Rather, they take the first thing that comes along if it suffices for their momentary need and if it promises to fulfill the purpose for which it was intended. A better shaped mussel shell to be used as a knife, a more regular

/491 cont./

412 stone as a handle is perhaps lying only a few steps away from the
461 hut, but the Indian is not in the habit of getting up and looking around a bit if he can reach some halfway suitable item from wherever he happens to be sitting. He places little or no value upon a beautiful and durable tool; he is content if it serves him for a time. To a certain extent his negligence and carelessness is explained by the fact that he cannot adequately protect his things nor store them safely. An item is soon lost or becomes useless. Why, therefore, devote special effort to making it?

412 In this trend of thought we also find the explanation for the
177 fact that our Indians do not exert themselves too eagerly to obtain European iron tools. /492/ If they have one or another tool, they are content and use it as a universal instrument. When iron strips, blades, and nails were still a great rarity for them, that is to say, in the first three centuries after they were discovered by the "Nassau fleet," they assiduously stole these things. As soon as they were reasonably provided with them, their desire for them was, so to speak, completely extinguished.

α. The Scraper

412 The scraper, ufkĕr, is an item that is used equally often by women and men. Cooper: 217 is right when he writes: "Among skin-using tribes like the Fuegian the scraper naturally takes an important place" /cited in English/ (Fig. 43). Every adult owns at least one of these as his personal property; for him it is more necessary than the pocketknife is for the European.

This object commonly has three parts, the most important being a large mussel shell which takes the place of a true blade. For this the natives choose a particularly strong, large specimen and give it the special designation of gĕluf (200). Vast quantities of

200. "A large, strong shelled mussel whose shell is used as a chipper," according to BD:245 /cited in English/. This is a large animal of Mytilus edulis, not another species, as Lothrop (b):139 erroneously says. Compare Hyades (q):299.

/493 cont./

412 has obtained a little flat piece of iron from a barrel hoop or from somewhere else gives it a rectangular shape and places one narrow side against a flattened stone handle or squeezes it into a split, short piece of wood, lashing it with a narrow cord. The cutting edge is likewise sharpened on a rough, flat stone (202).

202. Lothrop (b):140, as well as Hyades (q): Plate XXXII, illustrated this chipper or chisel in different versions.

● 177 412 It is clear that this chipper, as well as the one that the Selk'nam use (Vol. I, 248), has come into existence only since the Fuegians have received a few flat pieces of iron from the Europeans. How /494/ very much they pestered many ships' crews for these we shall merely touch on here. Soon they made this tool for themselves (203).

203. In King:417, Fitz-Roy several times mentions having observed among these Indians during his journeys after 1829 "cutting weapons made with pieces of iron hoop fastened on a stick" /cited in English/.

β. The Knife

412 The Fuegian can cut all kinds of things with his scraper; for certain types of work a kind of knife, wíila, wiilárki, is more advantageous for him. It would be a mistake to think of this as an object like our knife; their tool is nothing more than the symmetrical shell of the razor clam (Solen). /Figure 45 appears here./ The meat of this animal which is common in the sand of flat shores in that region is not eaten. It is dug out only in order to obtain the shell which is about 12 centimeters long and three centimeters wide and consists of identical halves.

It is used chiefly for fine work in bark, leather, and bone, less for actual cutting, or as Hyades (q) :300 expresses himself, "to carve the pieces of bark for the canoe or, more exactly, to

/495 cont./

412 beech. It is about the length of a finger and is regularly used by all the women and girls for plaiting their small baskets (206).

[172]

206. Spencer:134 gives a detailed description of three bone awls that came from an old shell mound on Navarino Island. One of them is made from the bone of a young mammal.

With this punch small holes are pierced either into leather that is to be put together for cloaks and covers, bags, and pouches, into the bark pieces of a canoe, or in a scoop that is to be sewn together. In the most recent times the Yamana have
412 learned to make a genuine shoemaker's awl. They file off the
177 head of an iron nail the length of a finger and set this end into a short, cylindrical handle of wood; the other end is filed to a point. This punch, wáikul, penetrates leather and bark much more quickly, of course, and the people like to work with it (207). It must be specifically mentioned that drills have been

207. Lothrop (b):142 illustrated two of these modern pieces.

unknown to the Fuegians from ancient times; they are therefore unable to make holes in a piece of wood. For this purpose they have in most recent times used an iron nail which they obtain from Europeans.

/496/ ♂. Wedge and Hammer

412 It is not at all seldom that a man must use a wedge of bone. It becomes absolutely necessary when he cuts out the bark pieces from a beech trunk for his canoe. This simple and yet valuable piece has been described on page 111 (Fig. 26) (208). The bone

208. Other illustrations are found in Hyades (q):Plate XXXII, 9, and in Spencer: 139.

/496 cont./

412 321 The wedge we have just described is carved out of the strong tissue of the large bones of the whale. The process is one of rubbing back and forth with pressure on a flat stone. As soon as the desired form roughly appears, the blade is carefully sharpened. The last thing is to grind and smooth the surface. For this a /497/ pumice stone the size of one's fist is suitable. The sea tosses these up in many places along the shore. We have repeatedly emphasized that our Indians must often resort to pumice, hiyal, for this very useful material is the only thing they employ to polish their bone points for harpoons and spears and their many wooden shafts. Lothrop (b):143 mentions: "For polishing, in place of our sandpaper or the Ona fox-skin and grit, the Yahgan use pomice hió1" /cited in English/. BD:262 spells it hiūal. The pumice, of course, soon wears down on the hard bone tissue, but [171] it can be picked up anywhere on the shores (210). The Selk'nam

210. Lothrop (b):143 confirms: "It frequently floats down Beagle channel and may be picked up on the beach" /cited in English/. Lovisato (a):197 is wrong in saying that pumice is found only on Nueva Island and Lennox Island.

(Vol. I, 235), as we know, not infrequently use the same pumice.

ε. Use of Iron

412 177 The Yamana of the first and oldest period were completely unfamiliar with the utilization of iron in any form. It is not found in their country nor could they obtain it through barter. As soon as they saw it on European ships and realized its usefulness, however, they learned how to obtain this raw material, as well as small plates of steel and copper, either legitimately or by stealing. Their impetuous desire for it sometimes led to dire consequences for themselves.

It is surprising how quickly they made iron serve them, taking it over in the form of nails, small plates for sheathing, and

/497 cont./

412 barrel hoops. They did not make entirely new forms of tools and
177 implements with it. The awl made from an iron nail (p. 191) is only a modification of their original awl made of a bird's bone (Fig. 46), and, in the case of the knife, a small iron plate has since then been used as a blade in place of the mussel shell. It seems that after only brief experimentation our Fuegians made the above improvements, insignificant to the eye, with the iron they obtained, and after that they never made any more changes.

As is well known, their efforts to obtain pieces of metal go back to the time of the first visits by European ships, and they did not abate even in later times. Weddell (a):93 had already written what Colvocoresses:41 repeated several years later in similar words: "Of all the things small pieces of iron were the most welcome to them, for the only instruments they had for cutting were mussel shells." At the beginning of mission activity Reverend Jacob Rau on August 1, 1864, reported on the few Yamana who were brought to Isla Keppel: "The Fuegians have now learned to value everything which might be in future profitable to them. Pieces of iron which lie about they pick up, and grind them, and make knives out of them" /cited in English/ (VSA:XI, 290; 1864).

Naturally, some of them also became very quickly accustomed to /498/ finished iron implements which could, on occasion, be obtained from a European. Fitz-Roy in his time left Jemmy Button an iron ax, as well as many other things. On June 11, 1858, Despard made the following amusing comment about a few Indians whom he had visited in Wulaia: "It was surprising to see the dexterity with which they handled their rude axes. One of them, Jemmy said, was given him by Captain Fitz-Roy; so it must have been in use for twenty years. It was a very big one originally, but is worn down almost to nothing" /cited in English/. At the mission station the boys and men were not only given the common iron implements, but were carefully taught how to use them properly. In later decades most of them acquired some tool as their property. Today one sees the iron knife and the shoemaker's awl in the hands of every adult; the men work with hammer and pliers, with plane and iron nails, while at the same time every woman owns a pair of scissors and several large steel needles.

/498 cont./

412 The things our Indians make with their iron tools differ from
177 what they made formerly only in execution; in each and every object they retain the basic forms. An exception is the substitution of the flat skiff in place of the bark canoe. We can, therefore, by no means speak of an improvement or perfection of total Fuegian technical skill as a result of their adoption of iron implements.

10. Articles Made of Leather, Hide, Bark

323 None of the three Fuegian Indian tribes is acquainted with pottery. Clayey earths are present and, in small amounts, are heated and made into the above-mentioned red pigment used for decoration. It has not occurred to anyone to make pots out of them. The Indians are very poor in material possessions. Still,
415 they need many small things which they must keep in bags and pouches so as not to lose them in their restless moving about. None of these things are durable by any means, but are easily and quickly replaced by others. Most of the utilitarian objects of this kind have been mentioned in the foregoing parts of this book where in each case their use was discussed. Here they will be more or less completely classified according to the material out of which they are made.

251 The explanation for so many things being made of leather is the environment in which our Fuegians have been placed. Their body covering, which does not deserve the name clothing, consists of pieces of leather and of skins, as we have already mentioned on page 50. In that connection we also described the treatment and preparation of leather (p. 68). To repeat briefly, the hunter himself skins the slain animal -- otter, guanaco, seal. He removes the skin piece by piece, cutting it away from the layer of fat surrounding the body with a mussel shell. Immediately /499/ the woman scrapes the larger bunches of fat, muscle, and tissues from the skin which is still soft and wet, stretching it taut above the ground by means of short wooden pegs or a network of short sticks. As soon as the skin has become hard from drying, she scrapes the hairless layer with the ufker[1]. Sometimes she removes the /Fig. 47 appears here/ layer of fur by

/547 cont./

227 by a woman in ancient times. The quill fiber, tūxulina, with the running knot to hold the bait, which we have just described briefly, is the terminal point of every fishline (282).

282. Lista (b):48 speaks of "fishhooks of stone or of fishbones" /translated from Spanish/. His inaccurate data are worthless. Barclay (a):64 is more reliable; he reports on "fishing without hooks" /cited in English/, that is to say, without actual fishhooks.

226 /548/ The woman manipulates her fishline in a strange way, as earlier navigators had already noted. She never uses an actual fishing rod (283). In her canoe she rows to those spots in the many

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177]

283. BD:406 uses the expression "tömmökur, a rod used for fishing with from the shore" /cited in English/, but if it actually occurs, the fishing rod was introduced by Europeans. I myself never saw one.

inlets where there are extensive clusters of floating Macrocystis. In the intricate entanglement of the small stems of this alga there are scores of fish large and small. The Indian woman ties up her vessel on one of the thicker stalks or pulls a tangled bundle of these small stems over a part of the canoe, which secures it well. Now she has both hands free, reaches for her fishline, and puts some bait on the lower end of it. Under the weight of the sinker the fishline uncoils in her hands, and she holds the line loosely in the water. Bent over the side of her canoe, which is tilted a little, she stares fixedly at the bait. This, as well as the fishline, deceive all fish, since they correspond exactly to the environment. When a fish bites and has swallowed enough of the bait, the Indian woman lifts the entire line along with the fish with a gentle tug until it is close to the surface of the water. Then with one hand she suddenly jerks up the fishline and with the other hand she grasps the fish the moment it is lifted out of the water (284).

284. This method, which was observed

/564 cont./

231 supplemented by Dechambre's thorough examination and by the
114 appended measurements of the bodies of these two dogs (322).

322. Reprinted in Hyades (q):391. The less ample body measurements given by another investigator named Nocard are also published in Hyades (ibid., p. 365). Compare also Hyades (h):39 in connection with this whole subject.

In 1895 and 1896 Otto Nordenskjoeld brought back to Sweden the skeleton of a native dog from his journey to Tierra del Fuego. It came from an animal of the eastern Yamana, which, according to his opinion, could be regarded as one of pure breed. The skeleton was conscientiously studied by Loennberg:10, and each individual part was measured. On the basis of it he also made comparisons with other South American canines. Unfortunately Nordenskjoeld did not leave a description of this animal whose skeleton is now in Stockholm, nor of other Yamana dogs. During a personal interview with him I learned only about the general characteristics of this zoological variety, which were already known to me.

231 During the years of my sojourn in Tierra del Fuego there was
177 not a single pure-bred Indian dog left. In the case of most of the dogs one could easily see what foreign cross-breed they came from. The Whites living there introduced various breeds of dogs and distributed them among the Indians. The latter's dogs were not only very dangerous to strangers, but also caused grave injury among the breeding animals, especially among the sheep.

231 Fred Lawrence confirmed what the older natives had told me: the native dog was of medium size and had a thick, shaggy coat of medium length and predominantly dirty brown in color with irregularly distributed large light spots. The head drooped forward a little and ended in a long, pointed snout. The standing, narrow, medium-length ears were sharply pointed. The eyes were slanting. The long, bushy tail curled up in a half circle. In general the animals had a strong, firm build, but were long and lean. As recently as 1924 several Indians compared the native dog to the

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/568/ It is not only the excitable animosity of Fuegian dogs that exceedingly provokes every European, but even more their mania for destruction and their voraciousness. They enter all buildings craftily and unobserved, plunder storage houses, and rummage through every corner. They enjoy attacking herds of sheep and goats. In order finally to get rid of these burdensome creatures, the White settlers poisoned and shot some and took others alive from the Indians in exchange for European breeds. Since all these bred unselectively among each other, the strangest mixtures resulted. With the decrease in the Indian population, however, they, too, are constantly decreasing and will disappear entirely along with the last Yamana.

F. Treatment of Foodstuffs

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The little corner of earth that was destined as the home of the Yamana is poor in natural products. This in itself is responsible for many limitations in their means of livelihood. The natives have no choice but to be content with the little that harsh and parsimonious nature has provided for them. Unassuming as they are, they yield to the external pressure that has disciplined them to an amazing state of contentment and humility. Their attitude, however, is far from being one of dull insensibility. Our Indians have by no means lost all freedom of choice and will never, like a badly trained animal, fill their hungry stomachs indiscriminately with anything and everything that is at hand.

The Yamana is more favorably situated than the Selk'nam, because the sea offers more lavish gifts than the interior. Hence he differentiates more than the Selk'nam and shows himself more particular in his choice. He has his own guides and principles that lead him in his selection of food. They are primarily determined by taste, but not entirely, for the Fuegians consistently refuse milk, for example, which they could easily obtain from White settlers, and they have adopted other items of European food only after a long period of resistance. In times of distressing hunger they also take things out of necessity which they would decidedly scorn in ordinary life.

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/570 cont./

262 nourishment of very considerable importance.

For sweets, which they must painfully do without, they show
263 almost a passion, probably for that very reason. They have only temporarily at their disposal the ripe berries with low sugar content from the well-known shrubs. In early summer they take the nectar out of the blossoms of máku (Embothrium coccineim) with their tongues, chew the sweetish petals of the rare Philesia buxifolia, and suck the sweet young shoots of Poa flabellata, the type of grass that they use as litter for their beds (p. 31). Finally they peel a piece of bark from young tree trunks in the spring. /571/ Exerting pressure, they scrape a mussel shell along the exposed fibrous layer, from below upward. In the process the sweetish sap, uškex̌, collects in the mussel shell and they drink it. All this taken together is still only a tiny amount of sweets.

263 177 Nowadays our Indians always procure sugar first whenever possible, and that abundantly (334). As may be expected, they

334. Along with other observers Hyades (f):564 emphasizes that they show "a real passion for natural sugar and heavily sweetened substances" /translated from French/.

use it indiscriminately and lavishly. They are guided, however, not so much by the physiological need, but far more by their enjoyment of it (335). Their partiality for onions is also re-

335. I noticed the same behavior among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 293).

markable. The cooked meat of crabs, especially axíya (Lithodes antarctica) and štekáluš (Paralomis verrucosus), is very tasty prepared with a little vinegar and chopped onions. The Yamana, without exception, are enthusiastic about this. Nowadays if they cook a meal of beans or rice or other legume, they naturally use cooking salt; only when they do not have it do they stir up the mixture with sea water. The addition of salt is demanded in this type of food which tastes flat even when larger pieces of meat of

/571 cont./

263 177 sea birds or seals are cooked in it. Along with European foods, the desire for salt was introduced there.

273 177 In the entire vegetable kingdom of the Cape Horn region there is not a sufficient amount of a single fruit that would be suitable for the manufacture of alcoholic beverages. The latter were unknown to the Yamana until they were offered to them by Europeans. The navigators of earlier times often noted that our natives could not develop a taste for spirits. They have come to it only through frequent use in the last few decades (336). Whiskey is almost never

336. Dabbene (b):187 from his own experience says: "Formerly they did not like alcoholic beverages, but now they have become accustomed to them through their contact with civilization and ardently desire them" /translated from Spanish/. Wieghardt: 37 and others say the same.

[439] 133 available to them; instead they get the thick red wine from the Mendoza region, which they call sípa, "blood." When they have an opportunity, they put a great deal of this into their stomachs, and since their nerves react to it immediately, they drag their drunkenness with its attendant symptoms about with them for days. A small amount is very hard on these natural people who are not accustomed to it, and the damage to their health is inestimable (p. 351 /untranslated/) (337). A few /572/ persons, such as Nelly

337. Duse:93 writes that when in those distant regions "civilization obtruded and brought along its inevitable accompaniments [alcohol and tobacco], it became clear that these sons of the wilderness [the Selk'nam] did not place any value on them. The Yahgan, on the other hand, quickly fell victims to the new luxuries and were capable of giving up their last skin [of seal and otter] for a piece of tobacco or a drink of whiskey." Compare in this connection the more detailed account on page 348 /untranslated/.

/572 cont./

733 Lawrence and Adelheid, refuse all alcoholic beverages on principle. The former has often and emphatically lamented the devastation that alcohol still inflicts on her compatriots. She has repeatedly said that so much alcohol, which formerly was entirely unknown, has very much weakened the memory of the members of her tribe for their old traditions and beautiful legends. She is scarcely wrong in this.

276 177 Most men have, of course, become accustomed to tobacco. They do not care so much for cigarettes, but prefer pressed tobacco which they smoke in pipes. They think this is more pleasurable, and it also lasts longer. The pipe is particularly convenient on the canoe trip. They are not capable of really enjoying the taste of tobacco; it is only the playful occupation with the pipe that amuses them. Not unimportant in this connection is their desire to be like Europeans. Self-respect and the need for recognition would make it impossible for a Yamana to refuse a cigarette offered by a European. Smoking never develops into a passion among our Indians; if they do not have tobacco, there is nothing in their behavior to indicate that they are missing something. Among primitive peoples tobacco does not have anywhere near the harmful effects on their health that alcohol has.

271 312 Since not a single alcoholic beverage is available to the Fuegians, they are dependent solely on natural water. It comes to them from many rivulets, springs, and brooks. No matter how cold it is, it does not harm them; some people prefer it, the colder, the better. They lay stress on pure water. If they have no other choice but to get water from swampy, boggy places, they put a layer of beard moss (Usnea barbata) or small-leaved shrubs (Nothofagus antarctica) on top and press it down slightly. This causes the filtered water to seep slowly through to the surface, the roiled mud soon settles, and the water is potable. In other swampy spots they pull up a small shrub or the thick fleshy stalk of a swamp plant, and the water quickly gathers in this hole; in a few minutes it becomes clear (338).

338. Snow (a):1, 344 observed: "On one occasion, being thirsty, and seeing no fresh water near, I indicated my desire;

/587 cont./

262 This is all that is eaten; the adjoining soft parts are thrown away. Strangely enough, the Yamana reject the tender meat of the Solen, the evenly shaped shells of which serve them as knife and scraper. Several green and brown algae that White settlers there like to eat are rejected by our natives as a matter of principle.

262 177 Not anything and everything that Europeans like and that they offered the Fuegians was accepted by them. They have to this day very emphatically rejected many things, for example, cow's milk. Other things, such as wine and other alcoholic beverages, they accepted only later. Hence it is not just the taste that makes them decide on one thing or another. Beyond that they reserve for themselves a freedom of choice that cannot be influenced.

262 252 In part this also comes out in the different procedures used in the preparation of individual foods. Above all, meat may never be roasted long enough to become quite dry and hard. They find it most wholesome when it is still red inside. They are always intent on providing themselves whenever possible with their favorite blubber sausages (p. 220), because they do not want to be without blubber, kun, for long. Since they do not have vegetables and spices, they get a little variety into their diet with the liquid blubber. The craving for fat in those damp, cold regions is probably also a factor. A person who wants to eat the berries of Pernettya mucronata or the dry Cyttaria fungi pours oil from the whale or sea lion into a large Mytilus shell and dips each piece into it before putting it into his mouth. In the same manner he eats certain mussels or pieces of meat from birds if the meat is dry and tough. Sometimes the dried Cyttaria fungi are soaked for a longer time in oil. The small fish, yélui, as well as other fish, after they are baked in ashes, are dipped into the oil before they are eaten. Our Fuegians lack the most necessary items to prepare their food in a somewhat better and more complicated fashion; they are curtailed and impeded in all directions.

Only a few things are regularly eaten raw by them, except when they are in serious distress. This includes berries, especially those of Pernettya mucronata, and all fungi, most of which, like yélui, have a spongy meat. They like to pick the large Cyttaria

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174 The considerable number of points of agreement justifies the assumption that the original founders of the shell mounds are to be regarded as bearers of a way of life and a form of culture that do not differ from the Tarasca of recent decades. Consistently, the undiversified picture of their culture runs through the earlier refuse-layers up to the top, upon which the Tarasca of the present, like the earliest beginners, are engaged in continuing the construction of these shell heaps (411). It is this very uniformity

411. In spite of his striking reserve, Lothrop (9:183) must admit: "The shellheaps throw little light on the culture or antecedents of the Talgan except for two points. It seems that no other people except the Talgan ever occupied southern Fuegia. It seems that the Talgan have lived there for a very long time" /cited in English/.

of design and execution in the implements that makes it impossible for us to see in them a succession of long intervals of time and to use them in order to determine certain strata, like the types in European prehistory.

172 177 Since, therefore, we cannot rely on a so-called series of types as a measure of time, the question arises whether the shell heaps in themselves permit any kind of decision about their age. The width and thickness of the layers plainly show everyone at first glance that very many decades went into them; more, however, it does not reveal. A definite pointer is the noteworthy fact that in no single layer of these refuse heaps can we find definite objects or traces of European origin. On the other hand, we must note that for approximately a century the natives were given all kinds of things by Whites and these have come into everyday use. The bulk of these middens had therefore accumulated prior to that. In some places, it is true, the bulk has increased during the last hundred years, /410/ but this development cannot be compared with the earlier one because meanwhile the natives have decreased extraordinarily in numbers, because they have somewhat modified

/Bill cont./

their diet since the museum station was started, and because, under pressure of the White settlers, they have changed their landing places. We are willing to admit that in these places still chosen for dwellings objects of European origin have found their way into the refuse layer, but that layer is high up and therefore shows its recent origin.

Would we perhaps be able to obtain tangible dates from the height of the middens? To me it seems hopeless to bother about it. For example, Ludewig (9):195, in a "Note of accumulation of refuse-heaps," estimated the amounts of refuse according to the number of natives, taking as his scale of measurement the daily consumption of mussels and snails. His attempt contains so many sources of error that we must expect an extremely unreliable result from the start. The Yaruros do not nourish themselves exclusively with mussels, although these represent a predominant part of their nutrition. At times when a whale is stranded, or swarms of herring swim up onto the coast, or sea birds, fish, and snails occur in extraordinarily large numbers, they prefer these things by far. All these phenomena, however, are not bound to certain periods of time. Moreover, a visit to a preferred, desirable place was very irregular. Some places were more favored and were therefore more sought out by an indeterminately larger number of families than others. Furthermore, the length of time each of these families remained on the same spot depended on incalculable circumstances. We certainly must not underestimate what it would mean in amounts of refuse if all the families in one place stay three days longer than the same number of families in another place. The difference is very considerable. Hence we cannot doubt that one refuse layer at any given vertical distance from the ground is considerably older than another made under the same conditions of deposit, simply because the former accumulated much more slowly than the latter.

We should like to emphasize that a shell heap grows much fewer than many Europeans imagine. If we assume, for example, that every member of a five-member family consumes 60 Mytilus mussels a day -- not too large a number, since I counted more than three times that amount among people who happened to

/526 cont./

Fuegians against the unfavorable, premature judgments of some observers and has upheld them in the following decisive words: "The travelers who have visited them are wrong in condemning them for their poverty and ignorance, of which they are not guilty. The construction of their canoes, weapons, implements, etc., and the labor of obtaining their sustenance from the sea, the coast, and the woods occupy nearly all their time" /translated from Spanish/. But then in modern times when the foreign utensils brought by Europeans were finally introduced among the Yamana, the harmonious, compact economic structure of this Indian tribe was disrupted, and its complete disintegration was prepared.

Were the Fuegians outwardly and inwardly or spiritually enriched by their adoption in recent times of a not inconsiderable amount of European goods? I believe not. George Forster (b): HU already answered this question in the same vein, writing from Christmas Sound in mid-December, 1774: "We described the savages living in the southern tip of our globe as miserable, degenerate, and decadent. That it seemed to us, that it necessarily appeared to every European who knew and was accustomed to a better condition. In their own eyes they are not so unfortunate. Their way of life has become second-nature to them, they prefer it to any other, and not one of them would prefer our mild zone to their cold climate; his hut is dearer to him than a comfortable European residence; his seal skin seems more elegant to him than silk and embroidered clothing; a /526/ tasty dish from our kitchen by no means replaces the more delectable flavor of his seal meat." In order to avoid unnecessary repetition, I refer to my detailed accounts of the extended activity of the Anglican missionaries among the Yamana in several places of their country since the middle of the previous century (p. 288 /unassisted/), and of the manifold influence of all European civilization on these natives who have for several centuries already decreased considerably in numbers (p. 333, 348 /unassisted/).

Our Indians cling, with all the fibers of their being, to the traditional nomadic life to which they have long been accustomed. They find it unbearable to be impeded in this way of life, even temporarily. Despite the many benefits each of them has derived

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177 181 from his stay among the missionaries, "he returns with delight to his canoe, to his independent wandering life, without preoccupation and without cares" /translated from French/, as Hyades (j):166 reports. Every outside observer can be adequately convinced that there is no other possible way of life for the Yamana; they are used to it from their earliest childhood; they are forced into it by their given environment, into which they have been inescapably placed. Care for their daily subsistence and the necessary raw materials for their implements drive them restlessly from place to place. This powerful motivation drives 181 our Yamana with equal force and toward the same goal as it does 171 the neighboring Selk'nam; hence the many basic similarities in the characteristics of their economies between the two tribes, with whom the Halakwulup are to be compared in this respect. All careful observers agree that "like the Ona, the Yahgan had to move freely and frequently in search of sustenance" /cited in English/, as Lothrop (b):116 tersely expresses himself. It is the instinct of self-preservation that makes both of them restless wanderers, that always and unmercifully puts them back on their feet again after they have given themselves a brief respite of only a few days. Despite this great dependence on external nature, our Fuegians have by no means become its slave, and their struggle for existence is not at all the degrading strife in which, for example, vast strata of so-called civilized Europe are at present engaged.

182 A glance at how the Yamana manage their affairs also shows that man with his superior mental equipment and his physical powers energetically comes to grips with nature on every spot of the earth that is entrusted to him. There he creates for himself a definite form of economy which will sooner or later strike every careful observer as harmonious co-operation between man and nature. Actually, the economic form of every long-domiciled primitive people possesses its inherent individuality conditioned by its environment and marked by its own structure. Thus, it is unique, and, despite external similarities with an economic form developed under other conditions, it differs from the latter /626/ more or less according to its inner structure, or at least according to its manifold purpose. This is not by any

1: Gusinde--387 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

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181 The entire social order, as the aggregate of conjugal or familial arrangements and vital functions of the tribe or community, proves to be naturally humane and, therefore, appears in an altogether friendly, pleasant light.

A. Courtship and Marriage

594 The individual family, the supporting pillar of the entire social order, is regulated in its origin and its continuation according to fixed, unchangeable fundamental principles. These principles are kept alive as customs in the consciousness and conscience of the people. They are made known to each member of the tribe and are more or less familiar to him. Since custom and practice are the primary law in the performance of duty, the centuries have not eaten away any of this, and whatever has remained down to the present time is to be justly and lawfully regarded as ancient tribal heritage.

581 The individual family consisting of parents and children is /629/ basically independent and a compact union. It is founded 594 on mutual affection between the two lovers and the desire for life-long union. It is held together by the increasing spiritual relationship of the two partners. Its vitality is assured by the fellowship of work and possessions, food gathering and consumption. It grows beyond itself by the self-evident duty of parents to beget several children and through them to insure the permanence of the tribe.

581 Although these vital customs pertaining to the institution of the family have endured in century-long uniformity, foreign in- 177 fluences have exerted such pressure on it for several decades that this firm structure has finally become undermined. Conditions have arisen in recent times which cannot be regarded as natural, and their effects on marital conditions have created a sad caricature of the original pattern of marriage. These regrettable changes and the false and inadequate observations of most travelers since the middle of the previous century do not give a picture of the basic organization of the institution of the family among the Yamana (1).

583 1. What has been recorded from still older
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585 and spend the night at the place where the celebration /657/ took place (38). Here the people of the neighborhood again assemble

38. Bove (e):158, and Wieghardt:41 as well, maintain: "If the bridegroom does not wish to forgo forever the enjoyment of eating guanaco and seal meat, he must cleanse himself on the morning after the wedding by bathing in the water of the sea... These baths are without doubt the cause of many sicknesses to which the young people of Tierra del Fuego are subjected, but they are regarded as necessary to replace the lost strength." When I asked my informants whether a bridegroom was obliged to take a bath, they could not keep from laughing, they found it so preposterous. It is almost childish to attribute "many sicknesses" to this alleged custom. Whenever someone has washed himself in the sea, he immediately hastens to the fire.

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in the days that follow, until the supply of meat is gone, the joyful mood has abated, and the long sojourn at the same place becomes boring. Meanwhile the bride often hastens to the hut of her mother where the two outdo each other in expressions of mutual affection, for soon the hour of parting will come. Each time [702] the mother carefully paints her daughter with the three horizontal lines, in order that she will be pleasing to her young husband and he will learn to love her. Many of the male guests give the bridegroom their good wishes and occasionally drop a warning word. The principals themselves are silent and are quite content in their own happiness. When all the wedding guests have dispersed and gone their separate ways, the newlyweds, who have meanwhile acquired their own canoe, also leave the place. They begin their independent life, free of their parents, and this is encouraged by very special rules applicable to parents-in-law and children-in-law.

585 A new family has now been established. The public regards
● 177 this event as so significant that they feel the necessity of surrounding it with legal formality (39). The modern confusion brought

39. Once Bridges (e):332, too, apparently lets his understanding of this come through:

585 /657 cont./
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"Marriage was recognized just as much as all other degrees of relationship, for all of which they [the Yamana] have their specific terms."

about by the dominance of European civilization has strangled this judicious tribal custom, along with much that was original. The Indians of today regret that some of their countrymen enter a marriage without the ceremony of former times. Mary, who was indignant over the widespread lack of form, very much lamented these conditions: "A woman, after all, is not an object, not a piece of wood or something, that one takes without ceremony. A girl who gives herself to a man without the formalities customary among us is not a real woman. It was so nice in former times when the painted bride was given to the bridegroom, who was also painted. Everybody was very happy on those occasions!" Again it is European influence that has killed the feeling for their native tribal customs among the younger generation. I learned the bulk of what is contained in the preceding pages from reliable old Alfredo on my second journey.

/658/ 9. Parents-In-Law and Children-In-Law

584 In the days before and after the wedding, the bridegroom is
606 very obliging and anxious to serve his parents-in-law. There is no legal obligation for service in the form of work or for gifts, but it is a matter of concern to him to obtain the favor of the girl's parents in order that they will surely and without reservation give their consent to the planned marriage. It is well known that a certain shyness prevents the lovers from revealing their turbulent desires. One day shortly before the wedding, when the love of the two young people has already become known, the bridegroom, in order to gain admittance into the hut of the girl's parents, places a rather large bundle of wood in front of the hut and waits until he is called in (40). If this happens, he interprets it as the surest

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40. It is well known that among the Selk'nam, also, the young chap who is anxious to marry resorts to silent, patient waiting in front of the

/661 cont./
606 and lances for lance-shafts. In short, they help their parents-in-law in every way and outwardly show them far more veneration than their own parents. A son-in-law would neither demand anything of them nor borrow anything. More than that, the son-in-law and daughter-in-law must also display a certain reserve toward the brothers and sisters of their parents-in-law, although it is not inadmissible to exchange brief words with them occasionally. Every man, however, can associate freely with the grandparents of his wife (43).

43. In the relationship between parents-in-law and children-in-law there are remarkable similarities between the Yamana and the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 332) and the Halakwulup (Vol. III).

• 177 182 European civilization, disrupting everything, has done away with many regulations formerly respected by the Yamana as sacred laws. For this reason, disgraceful disorders have met no opposition among the remaining survivors of the tribe. Older Indians whose principles are the same as those of their ancestors and who are helpless to stop this confusion complain bitterly and deeply regret the uncontrollable decline of their entire nation.

b. Married Life

591 593 With the marriage ceremony, independent life begins for the newly wedded couple. They are no longer dependent upon their own parents, and as a newly established conjugal union, they find themselves standing on their own feet. There is no definite rule about the time when the newlyweds break away from their parents. It depends on the position of the family of the bridegroom or of the bride. In exceptional cases, the young people remain with their elders until they have their first child.

The young man does not find it difficult to turn his back on the parental hut; he has long felt the urge for personal /662/ independence and the desire for the unimpeded development of

/662 cont./

604 custom grants the real parents. If the young woman should have the misfortune of having to seek help against infractions or cruel treatment by her husband, she first turns to her blood brother and then to her uncle.

581 593 In principle, the couple are united in marriage for life. Their marriage is not only a union of hearts, but also a union of work for the welfare of themselves and their children. Each of the two partners is assigned particular duties by ancient custom; it alone decides if and when the dissolution of a marriage is permissible. Unfortunately, the modern age has also changed the [177] original /663/ form of marriage in families of today, so that it is only partly recognizable in its outward appearance; hence the information given by all the old people was particularly valuable to me.

1. Monogamy

114 595 In describing the marital arrangements and family customs of the Yamana, the critic is faced with a difficult problem. The reports of earlier observers are often quite inadequate and in part clearly colored. In particular, the statements Bridges made about our Indians are consistently unfavorable to them, and his conscious or unconscious intention to show them in an unfriendly light can probably not be denied. The older reports from his pen are in a disparaging and disdainful vein. Later he had enough feeling for justice to correct some of his grossest errors. Other travelers, however, in describing things which they did not directly understand, leaned on Bridges, and this was especially true in the case of arrangements dealing with marriage and the family. This is why there is so much agreement and similarity of opinion among the writers. I personally no longer found the genuine form of married life among the Yamana of earlier times to be a common condition and was obliged to rely on the reports of trustworthy people, such as old Alfredo, during my second visit to Tierra del Fuego. Since their opinions were well founded, they at any rate counteract many false, unsubstantiated contentions.

Many of the earlier travelers maintain that the Yamana condone polygamy, but one cannot clearly tell from their words whether

/667 cont./

595 The intention of having more children is not a reason for
591 polygamy among the Yamana, for the Indian women are very
/668/ fertile, and no one could remember a childless woman in
842 earlier times. Most cases of polygamy arose from the fact that a man who was already living with one or two women also took in a solitary widow, ĕlátakakīpa. The latter perhaps did not find an opportunity for a new marriage with a bachelor or did not wish to return to her family group, and the man took her chiefly because he felt sorry for her. Whether or not he sometimes had intercourse with her, both knew from the start that they could not expect children from their union. Hence, it was actually the right of sanctuary which the husband granted this widow. In the strict sense of the word one cannot call such a life together a marriage.

595 In 1920 Walter explained to me how our Yamana must also
●177 make allowances for the changes forced on them by European civilization. His father had three women in his hut simultaneously, with whom he had marital relations. At that time there was already a shortage of men on Lennox Island and environs, that is to say, in the eastern group of the Yamana. Hence the women forced themselves on the few men in order to find sanctuary somewhere. From among his many brothers and sisters, Walter had for several years been the only one living. Here is another case. The young Halakwulup, Julia, had fled from a brutal European and found refuge on the farm near Punta Remolino. She could scarcely come to any understanding with the Yamana and lived very much to herself. She was treated in a friendly fashion and was supported by the Indian women there, but as a solitary woman with a son a year old she could no longer make out by herself. There was no suitable Yamana youth who could be her husband. Finally Manuel, who was about 35 years old and was married to fifteen-year-old Emilia, took pity on her and took her into his hut as his second wife (p. 439).

The quiet acceptance of polygamy brings with it the surprising phenomenon that married people are separated by a considerable age difference (55), which is not regarded as an obstacle

55. "An elderly man will be found often to possess two young wives in addition to one his

/684 cont./

himself corrected it soon after, saying that "generally a great deal of unfaithfulness" /cited in English/ (MM:III, 117;1869) is customary. Six years later he (i):19 learned of the splendid Yamana simile, "an adulterous person was likened to a rotten tree which has only to be touched to fall" /cited in English/. If a people seeks such a means of defense, it confirms its alarm over the serious danger which threatens it from marital infidelity.

A surprisingly large number of words signifying adulterous action have been collected in BD. Hyades and Spegazzini several times mention the fact that adultery is committed by the husband as well as the wife. The reliable Fred Lawrence assured me with all certainty that, according to his ten years' experience, a considerable number of women had lovers. Each of them knew that she was bound to fidelity toward her husband (85), but

85. Hyades (q):378 also emphasizes that the Indian women "are bound in fidelity to their husbands" /translated from French/. It is an exaggeration, however, when Martial:199 says: "Fidelity is very rare in the Fuegian marriages, and morals are very loose" /translated from French/.

nevertheless yielded to the urge in greatest secrecy. It is difficult to decide who is chiefly to blame, but each of the guilty parties has his share. "The seducer was probably generally to blame" (Gusinde [ℓ]:168); we might deduce this from the admonitions given young girls in the čiẽxaus ceremony. "The women of today," Fred Lawrence continued, "are scarcely ashamed of their transgressions and force themselves preferably on Europeans because they are paid by them. Where else did one or another of the women get her new dress, since neither she nor her husband earned anything to pay for it! In former times the illicit affair was kept secret, but nowadays many an older Indian woman is not at all embarrassed if one accuses her openly. Her husband is silent, for he knows that she /685/ is supplying herself with the things she wants." Some Indians were even offended at the behavior of old Marócha, so much so that they repeatedly spoke

/685 cont./
837 to me about her in very unfavorable terms (in this connection see
177 the account on p. 353 /untranslated/).

Formerly, as we have said, adulterous acts had to be anxious-
593 ly concealed from the eyes of the injured partner. If a man caught
837 his wife, he thrashed her soundly and watched her more closely
627 after that. If, moreover, he learned the identity of the other guilty party, he beat him if he was a match for him, or he summoned his own relatives to help (86). In any case he left the

86. Martial:199 describes the punishment of an adulterer which he himself observed in Orange Bay.

vicinity with his undependable wife. Many a man only gradually recovered from his wife's misstep and only after he had repeatedly thrashed her (87). It never went so far as conscious killing;

87. According to Hyades (p):335 and (d):309, "Adultery of the wife is punished by beatings which the husband or her parents inflict on the guilty party and her accomplice" /translated from French/.

there is the possibility, however, that a woman may have succumbed as a result of heavy blows (88). It very seldom happened

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88. Martial:199 and also Dabbene (b):189 express themselves in the same vein. It is not correct to speak of actual murder on the part of the husband. The assertion by Outes (g):58 is as false as it is emphatic.

that a man dismissed his faithless wife forever solely because of this offense, even though she may have stayed with her lover for a time and later returned to the hut of her lawful husband (89). If, however, it could be proved that she became

89. Martial:199 tells of an adulteress who

/728 cont./

165 fact that "one woman 38 years old had had seven children, of whom only one had died prematurely" /translated from French/. The most striking case that I can report from recent times is the fate of Walter's children; out of a total of eleven, only two are living.

As we have said, however, it is difficult to understand the reasons for the abnormal infant mortality (166). In any case the

166. The explanations offered by Bridges (a):202 are not very useful. He merely establishes that "few women save all their children; most die in early infancy: a disease in the throat carries many off" /cited in English/. This vague reference to a throat ailment makes us think of diphtheria which was imported by Europeans.

[164 •177]

assumption is justified that natural feeding at the mother's breast in the first year of life is a surer guarantee of keeping the child alive than the food children eat from the second to the tenth year. During these years food seems to me far more important for the child than external protection, care, and clothing. A child that has reached the eleventh year has acquired enough physical resistance to go on living; weaklings have been eliminated by that time.

842 A reference to the barrenness of Fuegian woman is in order here. Formerly it was certainly an extremely rare occurrence (167),

167. Hyades (q):188 also represents the view that "sterility is doubtless rare among the Fuegians; we have seen no case of a woman under 25 years old who was sterile" /translated from French/.

and various informants, among them the aged Reverend John Lawrence, could not tell me of any women, except Flora and Gertie, who were childless. If there are no children in a marriage, the woman is regarded as defective. The childless husband, matúma génnakuwa, takes another woman who without doubt will give him

861 /752/ Even the best human arrangements sometimes fail,
558 not, however, because they themselves are faulty. If there have actually been a few failures in training, the system itself is not immediately responsible, but rather the unfortunate nature of the child or the detrimental influence of outside forces. Calderon, who, on account of his unfortunate nature, disregards the tried and true principles, is probably the best example of how far a person can deviate from the ideal of the forefathers. He thinks he is better than other men and enjoys many advantages because he is Fred Lawrence's brother-in-law. He therefore disregards the warnings and advice of well-meaning fellow-tribesmen. The consequence is his offensive laxiness, which often causes his wife and children to suffer hunger; if he is irritated and in a bad humor, as he often is, he beats them without sufficient reason; usually he lacks the most essential implements, and the ones he has are not in order. We must really regard his two boys as spoiled children. They lounge about among other people, are impudent and rude, very unkempt in appearance, and never available to help anyone. How often have upright elders expressed their regret over this negligent family and said again and again: "In former times no man would have been allowed to become so negligent; at least his wife and children would have been taken away from him and put in better circumstances!"

• 177 The demoralizing influence of degenerate Europeans has
558 brought several women into disgrace (p. 353 /untranslated/).
861 To understand this we must realize that these unfortunate persons are no longer steadied and warned by the tribe as a whole, which must be regarded as already disintegrated. Today they have no possibility of marrying again, and the constant enticing temptation finally breaks down the last resistance of their honest sentiments. It would be wrong to blame the child-rearing principles themselves, for in contrast to these very few delinquencies, one can point to the virtuousness and soundness of by far the greater majority of the people as a whole. Missionaries, as well as many
861 travelers, speak of the most pleasant surprises and gratifying observations. I myself have learned to appreciate many of them as quite superior human beings and as sterling, reliable persons; I even sincerely love a few of them as true, valuable friends. This is the result of the influence of others in training them and of

/833 cont./

X 881 346 The thicker and usually pointed end of the small trunk is pounded into the earth very much at an angle to the main rib. The free end is tied to the opposite small trunk. Measured on the ground, all these small trunks are about 15 centimeters apart. A few more long poles are now placed longitudinally over the transverse arches in order to hold the vault together better. The thick end is likewise pounded into the earth at the proper angle, and the small pole itself, as parallel as possible to the others, is drawn over the transverse arches. The intersections are tied with rush stalks of [824] Marsippospermum grandiflorum or with seal tendons. The long side areas of this framework are hung with large pieces of leather and the upper part is covered with thick leafy twigs of the ever- [824] green Nothofagus betuloides. Sometimes the entire hut is covered with beech branches. This completes the hut. /834/ It has a long elliptical groundplan and an elongated dome shape (Fig. 81), something like the community hut (p. 31).

The time it takes to erect the Great Hut, two or three days, depends on the number and the agility of the men taking part. Meanwhile others are working on the interior. First they mark out the hearth with rather thick small trunks placed on the cleaned and leveled ground. These pairs of trunks start a little to the side of each of the trunks that mark off the main and the secondary entrances, and they extend from one end to the other. This center passage is thus somewhat wider than the main and secondary entrances. Pegs about as long as a hand are rammed into the earth to give some support to the parallel trunks. /Fig. 81 appears here./ Brush with thick foliage is spread on either side of them. Later on each participant will spread his pieces of X 881 leather and skins over the brush to make a seat for himself. Since 346 the people form only two rows, everyone can come close to the 354 fire (254) or move away from it as he chooses. The brush on the

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254. At present the Yamana use a rather large tin can or a wide iron pipe for the fire in their dwelling and in the canoe. This time they had placed two short pieces of a steamship funnel along the middle passage of the Great Hut. The fires inside of these produced sufficient warmth

X881 346 352 531

/836 cont./

and sticks with different patterns may be found in black and white in Koppers (a):48, and in color in Lothrop (b):126. In the latter reproductions, the background is too bright a yellow. It is not painted, but left in the natural color of the beech wood.

the ceremony is over (257), for such articles are not used in any

257. After my first initiation and later after my second, when I expressed the wish to take along a few of these ornamental objects, the Indians took down not only the long painted plaques and hanging sticks, but also removed the long thin pieces of wood and trunks out of the ground and gave them all to me without hesitation, further proof that they do not regard these things as having any value other than as decorations for the Great Hut during the initiation.

other way.

X881 346 There is no partition anywhere inside the hut, and one can survey the whole without obstruction from one end to the other. Also, there is no particular allotment of areas and places to sit. The candidates with their sponsors squat between the other participants in an informal, relaxed arrangement. The adults, however, use the wider entrance, tumĕči, almost exclusively, whereas the úšwāala have contact with the outside world only by way of the narrower entrance, úšatumĕči (258). The two entrances are so

258. BD:113 gives " 'ussa, ' position in or up..., up at the inner end of the room" /cited in Englist/.

arranged that the wider one for the adults faces the camp while the other one is nearer the woods so that the candidates, unobserved by children and adults in the camp, can disappear into it. Each of the entrances is closed off with a large piece of leather (259)

259. Nowadays they often use sacking and

/836 cont./

X 881
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sailcloth which is also drawn over the entire framework as a covering. Very large pieces prevent the rain from dripping in annoyingly. The Fuegians appreciate this, and in February, 1920, they borrowed a wide tent canvas from Fred Lawrence for the Great Hut in Punta Remolino.

that hangs in front of it. It prevents the wind from beating in and also keeps anyone from looking into the room lighted by the fire. Sometimes a guard will pre-empt the seat near the tumẽči, although he does not have any particular right to it. Everyone is content to take a seat, mičči, to the right or left of the fire, in the middle or on the sides, as chance would have it. The entire interior is called "alá'in" (260), but this designation is almost

260. This word originally meant "rock cave at the surface of the water where sea lions gather." Just as these animals assemble in their rock cave, so have the Yamana assembled in their play in the Great Hut. The further symbolic significance of this word and the meaning of the dance staff and forehead decoration are given in detail on p. 713

always used only for the little space near the narrower entrance at the rear.

The entire dome, despite its great flexibility, is stable enough because the individual poles forming the framework are tied and plaited together and also driven into the earth a short distance. The dome needs firmness, for sometimes it must withstand strong buffeting by the wind on its long side. During the dances /837/ held inside, the framework sometimes suffers heavy blows when a dance group falls against it. Moreover, it is customary, in order to ward off the influence of evil spirits, to shake it often so that it vibrates in all its parts. Individual persons will seize it with such force that one fears they will tear the whole weave apart. Finally, the watchmen climb up to the highest

/843 cont./

X 881 be newly made. Certain things that need protection are carefully packed away, and they arrange for a more or less long absence from their dwellings.

From this point onward the women in particular note the progress of the work on the čiexaus hut, for when it is almost finished, the start of the festival is not far off. It remains for the leader to choose a few men as guard and guard assistants (p. 683), as well as a few women to work in the cookhut (p. 682). Sometimes it is not until then that a few authoritative men meet and consider which young people are to become uswāala.

Therefore, a few days elapse after arrival at the čiexaus site before the leader states in plain words: "This evening our čiexaus will begin!" As soon as his decision has been made, a few men notify all the inhabitants of the camp who immediately prepare themselves for it. Should anyone be detained, for instance, if he should be caring for a sick person or on account of a small child /844/ or physical infirmity, he may remain in his dwelling undisturbed. All the little children who may not as yet be admitted to the Great Hut and who cannot be left unsupervised are put in charge of two to five older women, depending on the number of families taking part. Each of these women gathers several children around her during the day, invites them into her own hut for the night, and sees that they are fed. Women with a nursing baby sometimes take it with them into the čiexaus hut. These arrangements in the dwellings, as well as in the Great Hut, are attended to quite calmly, without the least fuss.

If the leader, for example, has announced the beginning of the celebration for that evening, one adult after another will move over to the Great Hut as early as noontime. Everyone takes with him the little that he needs for his bed and the frequently renewed body painting. There, on the brush covering the ground, he spreads out his pieces of skin, largely replaced nowadays by cloth covers (264), and places the other small items in

X 881 • 177

264. Many other European articles to which the Yamana are now accustomed are also brought along, for example, soap, combs, stearin candles, etc. They do not regard it

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[17]

/844 cont./ as a desecration of the sacred hut to unpack and use these foreign objects there.

the interstices of the hut framework. There are no particular rules for seating. The leader chooses his place approximately in the center, so that without effort he can announce his instructions to all the participants. The rest of the people sit here or there, as chance would have it and as they freely congregate. Sometimes close relatives and good friends stay together, and occasionally the leader calls a young man to his side so that he will be at his disposal (265). Many winefkése prefer the place next to the main

265. The complete lack of form is surprisingly different from the seating rules in the men's Great Hut of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 1006).

entrance. If new guests arrive in the course of the celebration, they squeeze into the left or right row wherever suits them. Everyone, however, must keep his chosen place from the beginning to the end of the proceedings. Each candidate, of course, sits beside one of his sponsors.

As a rule the occupants form a row on either side of the hearth which extends from one entrance to the other. If there are many people from the start and additional guests unexpectedly join them, there is some crowding, and many a person must squeeze in between the participants squatting in their places and the wall of the framework. Such discomforts happen only to young people, of course. Each of the women who come into the Great Hut from the cookhut squeezes into the place she first chose in the row of people and likewise adjusts to the general rule.

In March, 1922, we sat in the following order. On one side /845/ of the secondary entrance in the direction of the main entrance were Richard and his wife Mary who was the sponsor of Elisa, the latter's mother Adelheid, whose husband Santiago was sponsor for Father Koppers, old Pedro who was the overseer of the entire gathering, Whaits, and Charlin. On the other side, beginning at the main entrance, were Calderon, myself, my sponsor Chris and his wife Gertie, Manuel who was the sponsor of Kines,

X881 /848 cont./
S33 It is stronger and more universal during the evening dancing, very faint and soft during the forenoon hours.

With all the simplicity of the melody, there are nevertheless slight variations, which, one beside the other, produce some diversity. Many a person is pleased when he hears a certain variant from the mouth of another, which sometimes arouses precious memories within him. The čiéxaus truly keeps alive ancient melodies. Since most of them are sung only at the youth initiation, their sound awakens the spiritual mood which alone enables one to enjoy this solemn gathering profitably. The uninterrupted singing is also supposed to show that there is vigilance in the Great Hut and that nothing harmful can approach unnoticed.

X881 When darkness falls, the čiéxaus hut shelters all the adults who are regular participants. All the more immediate preparations, including the division of labor, were inconspicuously attended to, very gradually the beginning of the celebration was introduced, and the ceremony now runs its course quietly each day without any particular division of time.

2. Reception of the Candidates

X881 The weak superficiality of our Indians of today has unfortu-
•177 nately also interrupted the good custom of abstaining from all food
264 on the first evening of the assembly in the Great Hut. After the general singing has lasted about two hours, the kitchen women appear and place a tall metal container of thick soup in front of the leader, who, ladling it out with a large spoon, fills the plates while the women pass them around to all present. The meal is soon over, and the dishes are gathered up by the women who /849/ without delay disappear with them. Everyone carefully gathers the food remains and burns them; afterwards the central passage is cleaned and swept (267).

267. At the present time the Yamana keep to the routine that they have taken over from the Europeans, even in the Great Hut, but as of old they are very strict about burning all the remains

1: Gusinde--697 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 5116 Yahgan 5116

/849 cont./

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of food. These minor cleaning chores are considerably easier in modern times since the prepared food is usually handed to the people present on tin plates. Their original way of eating caused much more refuse.

α. Capture in the Camp

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Meanwhile the singing has been resumed by most of the people. With unobtrusive signs the leader gives a definite message to the winefkoʷa, and he inconspicuously notifies his helpers. They get ready to capture the first candidate. The older participants have previously named the young people who are to be made uʷkʷala on this occasion (p. 669). Without disturbing the singing, in which usually the helpers, too, softly take part, the latter paint themselves (p. 683). Then they get up, form a row with one not very far behind the other, and grasp the leather strap, ukeia, which hangs, unrolled, lengthwise on the interior framework (p. 686).

With a long drawn-out ho ho ho, uttered in a threatening tone, the winefkoʷa is the first to dash out of the Great Hut, followed by his helpers. Quickly they turn toward the dwelling from which they wish to fetch the uʷkʷala. The latter is frightened at the sight of the feared men. In his terror he crawls under the covers of his sleeping-place, but that does not help him; the men seize him and hold him tight, pull the lasso over his head, and bind him. Now he must follow them to the Great Hut. Resistance and stubbornness would be of no avail, so he follows the men and gives himself up to the fate that awaits him.

Many a boy and girl who previously have not been threatened by adults give themselves up willingly and without resistance to their relative, who leads them to the Great Hut. They, therefore, need not be dragged to it forcibly by the guard's assistants. At the entrance they are received in the manner reserved for all uʷkʷala without exception and, of course, for a definite purpose.

The appearance of the guards in the camp and the terrified screaming of their victim spread dismay in all the huts where these

1: Gusinde--705 6-6 (1919-1924) 1937 OSU Tolgan Unc

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leader adheres to them. What is prevalent today was also the rule among previous generations who kept much more closely to the prevailing customs than the last survivors of the tribe under the inevitable influence of disruptive European culture. We can be all the more certain that even in modern times this youth initiation is repeated according to the manner and custom of the ancestors because it is the one thing that is anxiously withheld from the cognizance of all strangers and is open only to fellow-tribesmen as something particularly sacred. We must remember that not even the missionaries, despite decades of association with the natives, obtained a tangible notion of this institution or, even less, direct insight into it (p.844).

This section on the daily program of the candidates has been put together on the basis of what we ourselves experienced, supplemented with explanations by our Yamana. The description has been built up according to certain points of view, which is why it seems formalistic, but it guarantees that all the details are really brought out /955/ and properly set forth (276). In

> 276. This treatment also facilitates a detailed comparison with the order of the day to which the candidates of the men's celebration among the Selk'nam must submit (Vol. I, 1908).

particular the educational principles upon which the initiation is built come out most clearly. The initiation is, first of all, a continuation of the child's early training which, up to then, it received from its parents in the family circle.

A valuable bit of educational wisdom has been preserved down to our own day in this Kina celebration, for it has been proved that European culture has exerted no decisive influence on the shaping of the external procedure or the form of the dominant principles. This fact should once again be strongly emphasized. In particular, the religious basis underlying the instruction of the candidates and the causal derivation of the whole performance help us to judge effectively the religious belief of these Fuegians.

Although fully preserving the traditional, the Yamana do not by any means treat the daily program as a rigid, inflexible

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Finally we must mention here the only form of tattooing which was formerly customary among these Fuegians, but of which I could not find a trace on any of the Yamana living today. The reports which I received on this subject may be regarded as reliable (101). Soon after the beginning of the long ceremony, after

101. Several men, as well as Molly Lawrence, spoke of this custom. The above data were given me by old Pedro, together with Wimin. The latter is the oldest surviving Yamana, and although I examined him very carefully, I could not find the faintest trace of tattooing on him. He told me: "When I was a candidate in the Great Hut my countrymen gave up these marks, for they did not wish to appear before the mistamerim with them!" I suspect that they wanted to avoid divulging their secret initiation with the tattooing which was done at that time.

the candidates have become somewhat accustomed to the new living habits, all the women of the Great Hut go down to the far beach the first thing in the morning if the weather is good. Only one of the guards remains behind. They choose a sheltered inlet with a shallow sea floor. The men, who are completely naked, and the women form separate groups. In their midst they have the candidates, the men taking the boys and the women, the girls. The men who arrive first step into the water and stand close together. The women arrange themselves in such a way that they form a more or less closed circle around the men. Then they all jump and leap about, play with one another, splash each other, perform all kinds of movements with their bodies, duck the candidates and drag them along under water. They depart themselves in every conceivable way with the members of their own sex, the inner circle of women never mingling with the group of men. After a time they come out of the water in this formation, and it is not until then that the circle of women breaks up, opening an exit

X711 /963 cont./
306 dents that a person has faithfully sat through his term as ulwáia
in the youth initiation.

X711 They have not entirely forgotten this earlier custom, but
312 have provided a neat substitute in the form of special body paint-
ing, which, however, only adult participants use. They paint
the entire upper part of the body red and over this draw a white
band the width of three fingers, which starts on either side of the
spinal column and extends over the uppermost part of the arm
and horizontally across the chest. It was definitely started this
body painting is applied instead of the former tattooing. One
day or another a man will still paint himself in this fashion.

X711 The external measures to which each candidate of the
166 Yahgan but is subjected are really designed to better his whole
body thoroughly. All candidates show great fatigue even after the
first three days. This is consciously sought; it is meant to make
each ulwáia amenable and to prepare him for the further aims
of the Yahgan.

/964/ β. Instruction

X711 The participants never lose sight of the fact that this event is
167 supposed to be a period of serious training for their young people.
Accordingly, some hours every day are devoted to teaching and
instruction. Unfortunately, at present even this essential part of the
entire Yahgan is not taken as seriously as it was formerly. The
[177] old people feel that the youth of today have for some time been
alienated from the old tribal traditions and have adjusted to European
standards of living. Hence the adults do not spend nearly as much
time and effort on the actual instruction as they did formerly.

During my first initiation, however, we were required to con-
gregate regularly each evening with our venerable instructor, for
at that time Alfredo, the leader, was particular about keeping
strict order. During my second initiation old Whaim had all the
ulwáia sitting at his feet on one occasion only, and at that time
he could give us only a very small part of the wealth of earlier
exhortations. Many conscientious Yamana regret this decline most
deeply, but within themselves, faithfully shielded by a reliable
memory, they carry everything that was once offered them in the

X88 626 /908/ strict judgment of others. Even if he lacks the urge toward devotion to duty for its own sake, he at any rate practices it for the sake of his good reputation, which means a great deal to everyone.

X88 Despite the almost complete lack of a daily schedule and the small amount of authority exercised by the leader, there are a number of circumstances that naturally combine to make all the participants work together in perfect harmony and strive toward the twofold goal of this institution.

B. Special Formalities

X88 577 The adults retain their personal freedom of movement only to a certain degree. No one permits himself to make mistakes, although generally one cannot say what is and what is not permitted. It is a matter of general observation that the older and the very old persons are much more serious and concentrated in their conduct than middle-aged persons. This indication of decline goes back to [177] the relaxation of the original strictness, for the most part a result of European influence.

An unwritten law regulates the behavior of the adult participants in this affair. Each person learns it from the example of the old people, without any special instructions. The leader keeps an eye on each one. He does not need to warn or admonish, but he does occasionally call upon one person or another for the required services. Each one is dominated by his determination to help in order that the traditional formalities be observed, even though it costs him personal sacrifices and the surrender of his own comfort. For the sake of order, everyone conducts himself irreproachably in the Great Hut and takes part in the common tasks, in song and dance.

1. Outward Calm. The adult participants regard their stay in the ciexaus hut as a period for collecting one's thoughts and deep meditation. They also absorb the admonitions and teachings imparted to the uwala. They recall their own period of probation and in their memory they renew the solemn pledge that they gave the overseer at that time (332).

332. Probably this oft-repeated self-reflection

/911 cont./
881 the younger people wash with soap in the morning (334), usually
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334. They have adopted this habit from Europeans, and they cling to it even in the Great Hut.

in front of the Great Hut. A few women busy themselves with the long fire and make bright flames leap up, while the men join in the continuous singing and give themselves up to their thoughts.
[513] The night's sleep lasts only six to seven hours.

881 3. Meals. Formerly during the ciexaus celebration the adults
264 were also obliged to observe some restrictions in eating, as they personally saw fit. To this day the Yamana uphold at least the rule that all food must be prepared exclusively in the secondary hut. In former times the kitchen women brought a meal from there to the people gathered in the Great Hut only twice a day, namely, a bite a few hours after arising and abundant portions toward four o'clock in the afternoon. The sponsors arranged it so that their protégés were usually not led outside before the first meal and that they were again present during the second. In case an adult missed the meals, he was permitted to go to the cookhut and receive something to eat there. It was not customary for extra food to be distributed in the Great Hut for latecomers after these two periods.

881 In general the Yamana eat rapidly and even more so during
264 the čiẽxaus celebration. Food is brought in from the cookhut as
869 secretly as possible. Since the preparation of the food cannot be hidden, the adults and, above all, the children outside in the camp who do not take part in the celebration are led to believe that it is devoured by Yetáĵta or by other spirits (p. 761), but not by the inmates (335). In order to carry out this deception, at a

335. At the end of the celebration the candidates actually do appear very weary and weak when they come back to the actual camp and they are quite generally pitied (p. 829).

certain time before the meal a few men and women inside the

/914 cont./

X881 264 into the čiéxaus hut for a short time, because they must not have any occasion for suspicion.

An individual does not help himself; the distribution is made by the kitchen women who bring in the food already prepared. Usually an older woman appears, accompanied by a younger one. The latter carries the pieces of meat or the mussels. The former stands in front of each person squatting in his place, reaches into the basket of the woman accompanying her, grasps with both hands whatever is to be distributed, and first moves it up and down, meanwhile uttering a low hō̆ hō̆. Then the person takes the piece of meat or the mussel in his hands, moves it up and down in the same way, and repeats the soft hō̆ hō̆. The kitchen women move along both rows of participants, give something to each one, and return to their hut next door (336).

[415 177]

336. Recently the kitchen women have used European food and prepare the meal in large buckets or metal containers. They serve the food with ladles and give each person his portion on a plate or in a bowl. Nowadays everyone who enters the Great Hut is provided with these implements; he therefore makes use of them when the occasion arises.

They do not personally serve the uĭwáala but give the sponsors somewhat more, and they, in turn, let their protégés have a little. Everyone immediately eats what he has received and forthwith cleans his plate of scraps. He is content with what was given him; to ask for a second helping would be a regrettable example of lack of self-control. Actually, the adults, too, must always forgo full satisfaction.

X881 356 4. Cleanliness. It is certainly noteworthy that our Yamana who, in general, show a limited sense of cleanliness are not guilty of offenses against it in the čiéxaus hut. Everyone is painfully exact about removing all the food remains after the meal. Immediately after he gets up in the morning, he straightens out his sleeping-place and folds the covers that he does not need during the day. At least once a day all the

/958 cont./

blended into one, called "Kloketen," among the Selk'nam. Compare Gusinde (bb):370 and (dd):1083.

Since the intrusion of European culture in the Cape Horn Archipelago, the strict procedure of the youth initiation has been relaxed, gradually and imperceptibly, but ultimately to the detriment of our Yamana. The initial indulgences obviously led to a regrettable deterioration of the original serious spirit of the ʏiéxaus celebration. It is the old people, who were brought up in the strictness of former times, who complain most of all about present-day laxity, inasmuch as they see in it a serious disadvantage to youth and a threat to the people as a whole.

On March 5, 1922, Gertie told me in detail about a considerable length of time she had spent, as a girl, at the Tekenika Mission. No religious influence from that period was apparent in her and I became convinced that the teachings of the missionaries had left absolutely no impression. She said: "At that time there were still many Yamana living. But since then most of our people have died, precisely because they are very careless about observing the former strict customs and have become very indifferent about many things. When I first entered the ʏiéxaus as an uʏwáala, I trembled with fear and terror. Full of awe, I showed my sponsors that I was willing and obedient. I carefully and faithfully fulfilled what was demanded by the daily program, which at that time was still very strict. At present even boys and small girls are admitted as uʏwáala. They are not bound by strict discipline because they are still too young. /959/ Because of all this, the good ancient customs are given up. Even important arrangements are no longer taken seriously enough [she means, besides the initiation, the general conduct of the tribal members]. This is probably why our people are now dying in such numbers. The rules of conduct and precepts of our ancestors were excellent, although strict and serious, but people lived well by them and were a great people!" Gertie is a person who appreciates the value of strict tradition and clings to it tenaciously.

Without doubt, even in the last few decades, the initiation was conducted, by and large, along the lines of ancient tradition. A minor incident in March, 1922, shows that, despite some laxity,

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X881 182 576 Gertie's interference shows how well she is acquainted with the prevailing custom, and how conscientiously she respects all the details. Just the day before she had assured me: "What I was taught, as uwéala I faithfully kept and ineradicably preserved in my memory. This [faithful fulfillment of duty] brings everyone happiness and benefit!" The whole conduct of this woman, who was my sponsor, showed conviction and loyalty to principles.

X881 182 177 If one wishes to be fair in judging the modern Yamana, one must consider a few reasons that justify their relaxation of the procedure during the last few decades. In modern times they cannot count on being free of annoying hindrances, nor are the families independent in choosing the locale and season for the initiation. Always and everywhere they must reckon with interference by the Europeans settled there or they are obliged to work on the farms. As a result, all or most of the tribal members can no longer join in this celebration for a long period.

X881 182 In view of these considerations, it happens that now and then immature boys and girls are admitted as uwéala when their judgment is not yet sufficiently developed. No one knows when or whether the next cíexaus celebration will take place, and they do not want these young people to be deprived altogether of this group training. Their lack of physical development forbids their being subjected to the original rigors of fasting and curtailed sleep. Nowadays strong measures are even less appropriate, since the middle-aged adults themselves are unable to summon enough will power to endure the rigorous regulations of their fathers. They lack the determination to make personal sacrifices. They realize this with shame, and they by no means conceal this situation from the young people. They say frankly: "In former times the uwéala came back to the camp from the Great Hut completely emaciated, weak, and exhausted at the end of the cíexaus; nowadays they are hardly bound by a few insignificant restrictions!"

X881 182 147 We cannot deny the obvious fact that in modern times the physical resistance of the Yamana has considerably diminished. The old people say: "In former times toothache was unknown, nor did one see gray heads among the aged. The Yamana of today are not as hardy as their ancestors. The decisive factor lies in their changed diet, in their consumption of sugar and alcohol, coffee

/1004 cont./

183 custom is based on the tested experience of generations. They interpret every deviation from it, no matter how small, almost /1005/ instinctively as disadvantageous and harmful for their society. This judgment may rest to a considerable extent on the balanced harmony between their needs and their environment. It has been shown that they have adjusted in the best possible way to the vital demands of their homeland and have identified themselves so well with it that other wishes and needs do not arise, so to speak.

177 183 182 This rigid, inflexible attitude of self-contained ethnic unity at first excluded all the innovations that reached the Yamana from contact with European culture. Gradually a few raw materials and objects that seemed advantageous to them, iron, for example, came into their possession, but even the strong and continuous influence of the Anglican mission has been unable to change anything in their social order and their spirit world (p. 324 /untranslated/). It is only in the last few decades that Indian culture has been torn asunder and more than once harshly oppressed by foreign settlers. After that it was impossible to continue to live according to ancient custom, and the doom of our tribe was sealed. Many old men and women who had had the good fortune to grow up amid the unadulterated customs of their people were obliged, with tears in their eyes, to see the acceleration of this fateful grievous devastation. Their bitterest laments were unable to exorcise the evil. They frankly stated that, with the initial relaxation of the strict custom of former times, the disintegration of the people as a whole began.

183 626 Among the more general fundamental considerations pertaining to the value of traditional customs, the personal sense of honor is, in practice, still strong in its effect. No one wants to be regarded as an inferior member of the tribe, as disloyal to the customs of his fathers, as indolent and negligent, as quarrelsome and selfish. On various occasions the ideal image of the "genuine, proper Yamana' is very clearly unfurled, everyone sees it spread out before him in all its details and in bright colors. A person who deviates consciously or habitually from this ideal displays a considerable degree of wickedness and inner corruption of which he himself is aware, as well as his entire neighborhood. The disgrace

/1074 cont./

182 197 regarded as lost. The few that were saved have unusual words and archaic sentence formations, showing their origin in the distant past. Even older persons were no longer able to give me an exact and detailed explanation of each formula, and they excused themselves by saying that such obsolete words and idioms were no longer used in everyday speech. It is therefore not surprising that old John Lawrence, as well as his sons who were versed in the language, was sometimes baffled by these sayings. The colloquial language of the present day is the result of considerable change since the time when the representatives of the individual dialect groups (p. 199 /untranslated/) were more crowded together and intermingled. Thus, although almost always only the basic idea of any given formula can be determined, all of them together furnish a sufficiently complete picture of the Supreme Being whose image our Yamana carry in their hearts and whose characteristics are familiar to them.

/1075/ c. Originality of the Yamana Religion

771 177 The above details taken from the religious heritage of the Yamana are not inconsiderable in number. All of them were brought to light only through my travels. These facts contradict the unanimous agreement of earlier travelers and of the missionaries, active for many years, who, so to speak, flatly deny that our Fuegians have any religious conception and religious activity. This sharp contradiction demands a reliable explanation, all the more so since the religious heritage of the Yamana not only proves rich, but also has a determining, guiding influence on the whole moral attitude of these Indians. It has been repeatedly pointed out, and must still be treated in detail, that all the moral obligations and the traditional customs are, after all, bound up with the Supreme Being.

By way of negative proof it can be convincingly shown that neither the navigators who lay at anchor for only hours or days in the Cape Horn region nor those Europeans who took individual Yamana to Europe with them offered actual religious instruction (16).

16. One may certainly assume that if Fitz-Roy,

/1075 cont./

during the journey to England and back had influenced his charges in a religious way, he, and Darwin as well, would in some way have expressed themselves about the results. Their accounts do not contain a single word on the subject. Matthews (p. 94 /untranslated/) probably also did not do anything along this line.

Those three or four men who occasionally referred to the Christian idea of God or who read aloud a chapter from the Bible, Weddell (p. 69 /untranslated/), for example, were personally certain that their references had not the slightest influence. Incidentally, it is not like rough sailors when they land and happen to be with a few natives for a short time to fill those hours with preaching their own Christianity and Christian moral precepts (17). Even if one

17. On page 333 /untranslated/ it was described how many of the navigators in the Cape Horn region behaved toward the natives; they surely did not inspire respect for the white race among those primitive children of nature.

were to assume this improbability, no serious critic could concede that so brief an influence, which would necessarily have taken place without sufficient knowledge of the language on both sides, would provide a lasting effect and an inner transformation on the part of the Fuegians.

The definite determination to educate these people according to the Christian religion -- which, as has just been said, could not have been true of the sailors on their voyages through southern waters -- was, however, by contrast, the driving force among the missionaries who settled in that archipelago. Despite years of contact with the Yamana, they were the very ones, above all Bridges himself, who not only deny that the Indians had their own religious ideas and practices, /1076/ but who are constantly lamenting the poor success of their efforts which, in any case, reached only a few. None of these missionaries gives definite data about which Christian

/1076 cont./

771 truths and ideas the natives adopted, much less about whether they
791 adapted their everyday lives to them. The missionaries did not
177 achieve a genuine, inner transformation of their pupils and charges (p. 328 /untranslated/). In any case, no specific Christian idea is to be found in the religious heritage of the Yamana described above. What one Fuegian or another may have absorbed from the teaching of the missionaries remained, as can be shown, a mere bit of new information, for example, the English word "God." This slight increase of knowledge had no effect whatever; the Fuegian definitely separates it from his ancient heritage and even regards it as, for him, superfluous.

In particular one should note the small number of natives who, with few exceptions, always stayed at the various stations for only a short time (p. 312 /untranslated/), as well as the vast areas never reached by missionary influence, and, finally, the great fear the people had of coming near the mission stations after the ravages of epidemics. During the first decades mutual exchanges were greatly handicapped by insufficient knowledge of the language. The mere fact that small groups of natives listened attentively to English does not prove that they understood everything, much less that they would sooner or later have tramlated it into action from inner conviction (18).

> 18. On the subject of the natives sent to Isla Keppel, J. Lawrence (MM:VI, 37; 1872) writes, characteristically, on October 17, 1871: "Whenever I give them religious instruction..., they are most attentive, and while I endeavour, though very imperfectly, to explain to them some portion of Holy Scripture, they listen always with deep interest. If I question them as to their knowledge of Scriptural things, they confess they know very little, at the same time express their desire to know much more" /cited in English/.

They behaved as the missionaries wanted them to, and they also took part in the religious service and in the Bible reading as often

/1076 cont./

as they were urged to do so (19). Did this make them faithful

19. The prayer meetings of the Indians are always described by the missionaries as good or successful. But what is to indicate that these "savages" took part from inner conviction? In his account Lewis (MM:VI, 90;1872), for example, mentions that the Yamana "George Despard informed me he himself had been to some of the other people's wigwams talking to them of all he knew concerning the future world, and remarked that some listened attentively to what he said, whilst others would not listen" /cited in English/.

Christians? Spegazzini (a):180, for example, emphatically denies it: "The catechized Indian generally does not believe, and when I asked some servants of the English missionaries if they believed, they replied: 'And you have seen the spirits of the woods /monte/ and of the water?'... Those who believe do so solely in order to make use of the missionaries /1077/... The children of the establishment [of the mission] leave and find themselves without tools, without social backing, without anything; they have to live, and they go back to living as their parents did" /translated from Spanish/. In this environment they quickly lose everything that teaching offered them. From the start Spegazzini (ibid.) regards any attempt to influence older children as useless: "An Indian older than ten is not responsive to civilization; he already has his principles of freedom and laziness too deeply rooted in his soul" /translated from Spanish/. The number of baptisms and marriages solemnized at the mission stations is remarkably small (p. 331 /untranslated/). Bridges, however, translated individual sections of the New Testament and recently Williams published a few prayers in Yamana (20), but I do not know of a single Fuegian

20. Cooper:73 and 135 collected the bibliographic details. Compare also my data on page 146 /untranslated/ and some supplementary material in Gusinde (II):274.

/1077 cont./

who could have read these writings with understanding and profit. It has likewise not been shown that those who received special instruction transmitted their knowledge to their compatriots (21).

> 21. Despard (b):733 praises Button's good memory and says that the latter told on Isla Keppel "whatever he had learnt of religion and morality -- not much of these last, to be sure...When questioned as to the efforts he had made to impart his acquired notions of religion to his countrymen, he replied, 'Yes; me tell God very good, make everything; Jesus Christ God's Son, very good -- die. My people stupid -- no sabby [no saber]; I no tell more'" /cited in English/.

If one carefully surveys the entire religious heritage of the Yamana, its individuality is clearly apparent and nowhere can an amalgamation with Christian ideas be demonstrated. The belief in Watauinéiwa is not the result of missionary influence.

Without any doubt it proves to be the special heritage of the Yamana, which they held and cherished long before their first contact with Europeans. My own research, and particularly the wholly unusual, accidental way in which I personally stumbled upon their religious heritage (p.958), in itself explains why it was withheld from other visitors and even from the missionaries. It is not necessary to repeat the details; they have been fully presented.

1. Its Intrinsic Value

Many unequivocal circumstances definitely and clearly testify that the Yamana have preserved their heritage of religious ideas and practices and have transmitted it from ancient times to the present. Quite generally, these ideas and practices are to them a logical postulate of their thinking. This is not to credit them with a particular gift for philosophical speculation, but their

/1078 cont./

771 driving power and active cause behind any occurrence whatever,
776 especially behind events of decisive import, then discussions, no matter how long, would change nothing, and the person affected has no recourse but to realize his own helplessness and to yield weakly to the situation imposed upon him. As may be expected, this decision restores his mental balance and calms even the greatest surges of fury against the severest losses and the bitterest disappointments. One must see these Fuegians on the occasion of a general funeral rite, yamalaśemóina. Everyone in the company of others acts as though he were mad with grief, and a few hours later, at any rate by evening of the same day, ruefully and full of confidence, he again turns to /1079/ his Hidābuan with sincere requests for forgiveness and pardon for his excited, irreverent behavior which, he says, was, after all, not entirely unjustified.

771 The complete contentment which their religious heritage
791 gives the Yamana has prevented any desire for more. That is why
● 177 they regarded the Christian teachings presented to them by the English missionaries as utterly superfluous. It can scarcely be proved that a single one of them was drawn to these missionaries from a pure desire for Christian truths. In fact, the missionaries had great trouble getting a few children to stay in their stations for any length of time and occasionally gathering together a few adults for a religious service and instruction. The following statements illuminate the whole situation like a strong light. Mary told me that as a girl she was taken into the house of the Lawrence family in Ushuaia for a few months to do all kinds of work. She once described to me her usual occupations and also pointed out that every day ended with a short reading from the Bible, to which the missionary added a few explanations about his God. I asked her to tell me whether she welcomed this, whereupon she replied with surprising candor: "Oh well, I listened to everything. Mister Lawrence kept speaking about his God. He said: 'Our Lord' /cited in English throughout this passage/ demands that everyone be a good human being, that everyone work hard, that no one steal from another, and that no man have anything to do with another's wife, that we should all get along with each other. And he repeated all kinds of other things. But what he told us about his 'Our Lord,' all this Watauineiwa revealed to the Yamana long

/1079 cont./

before, all this was always known to our own ancestors. So we don't need his 'Our Lord'! Our Watauinéiwa is enough for us, and what he has told us suffices. I always realized that, each time Lawrence spoke of his 'Our Lord.'" As was proved by my questions, Mary actually adopted nothing from Christianity. The attitude of Nelly Lawrence is even more convincing. As the daughter-in-law of this missionary, she lived in the same house with him for several years and was in daily contact with this deeply religious man. After I became acquainted with Watauinéiwa through her efforts, she no longer hesitated to refer to him. She plainly showed me how pleased she was that I, too, sincerely enjoyed her religious views. Not for that reason alone, however, but out of innermost conviction she confessed to me that the traditional Watauinéiwa faith was perfectly adequate for her and that she felt no desire for the thing John Lawrence so often mentioned about his "Lord" /cited in English/. "Everything that the Yamana tell about our Watauinéiwa is incomparably more beautiful!" She repeated this conviction to me several times with proud self-confidence. In the general register of baptisms there is no mention that she was baptized /1080/ (p. 331 /untranslated/), and I never discovered any traces of Christian faith in her, but in her ideas about Hidábuan she felt happy and content; hers was really a deeply religious nature.

For the Yamana their Supreme Being is certainly no supernatural figure passively hidden beyond the stars, but rather someone they feel close to. They connect many of the minor details of everyday life with him, and by no means only the startling events. On August 9, 1923, I was in Punta Remolino, sitting at supper with the Lawrence family. Fred had a hired man in his service who came from Chiloé and who was old and quite stupid. Once again he had proved extremely awkward in his work, and Fred's description of it was so vivid that we all had to laugh heartily. Only Nelly remained serious and warned her husband with the following words: "Don't talk disparagingly about that old man. Watauinéiwa doesn't like it at all and will punish you for it. One must not make fun of old people!" Her reprimand to the whole group was so natural and serious that we were dumbfounded and, without demur, stopped laughing.

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2. Its Characteristics

776 797 177 In a critical evaluation of the originality of the Watauinḗwa faith the decisive fact is that the deity's characteristics and personality as imagined by the Yamana harmonize very well with the general psychology and the personal character of these Fuegians. To begin with it must be pointed out that clearly recognizable Christian characteristics are lacking. Not the slightest trace of the salient details which were constantly repeated in the teachings of the missionaries has remained among our Indians (22). Only

> 22. For example, Despard (VP:VI, 29;1859) asserts that he taught J. Button about Jesus Christ, and Lawrence (MM:XXXI, 143;1897) reports that for his part he constantly spoke of the Lord Jesus.

the words "God" and "Our Lord" /cited in English/ are mentioned, but their meaning is synonymous with what the Indians themselves have put into the name of their Supreme Being. They also remember the references of the missionaries and individual farmers to the resurrection of the body, for it completely disconcerted them.

The Yamana have come to the conclusion that both figures are more or less one and the same person, and they make comparisons. On March 8, 1923, Nelly once again came to my room, accompanied this time by Sara, the Lēpakĕrawā́iakī́pa and wife of Pedro Mašemikens. Sara gave me a small basket as a present. In return I hastened to give her a string of beads and a small mirror. While Sara was looking at herself in the glass, Nelly discovered a picture of St. Joseph on the back. He was portrayed as a venerable older man with a long white beard. Nelly said to Sara: "Look at the other side, there is the Watauinḗwa of the Christians!" When this name was mentioned, Sara was somewhat taken aback, but not markedly, and she asked Nelly softly: "Does this Martin [Gusinde] know who our Watauinḗwa is?" Nelly nodded affirmatively. Sara was content with that and obviously relieved. Only then did she look at the picture thoughtfully and turned to me,

/1081 cont./
saying distinctly: "Watauinéjwa kēmauyúēka (23) hananikája (the

23. BD:181 translates this word: "to come up in order to take care of" /cited in English/. In the ancient prayer formulas it is often repeated with the same meaning.

old-one-up-there is concerned about us)!" Her meaning was: Just as your Watauinéjwa takes care of you, the Whites, so /1082/ our Watauinéjwa is concerned about us! She said this quite naturally and without constraint while I was busy tying up the package from which I had taken the present; I did not influence her in any way. Among the Yamana the thought of their Supreme Being is actually ever present and not by any means concealed behind many other impressions and images from their everyday life. In judging this statement one must note the valuable fact that Sara's home is on the Wollaston Islands which were never influenced by English missionaries; she, therefore, had no definite conception of Christianity. Nevertheless she draws a definite dividing line between her own Watauinéjwa and a similar person who watches over the fate of Whites.

If our Fuegians are confronted with contrary or deviant European ideas, they usually refrain from asserting their own conception and defending it as the only correct one and as though the others were wrong. Nevertheless they once rebelled against their fellow-tribesman Ukokku whom the missionaries had sent to them as their teacher. Bridges (VSA:XII, 276; 1865) reports: "Lucca told me that Ookokkoo (he not being present) had often spoken to his people of God, or heaven and hell, and what sort of people should live in them; his people being very proud and bad would not listen, and were sometimes very angry, and said that Ookokkoo told lies; that as he had never seen nor heard God they would not believe, and that man and all things had ever been as they are, without beginning and therefore without a Maker. One man, they said, pretended to be Jesus Christ; some were afraid to be in hell, and wished to become quiet as a requisite preparation for heaven; some threatened to kill Ookokkoo, but were afraid to" /cited in English/. The Yamana were particularly excited by the missionaries' references to the resurrection of the dead and a life of the

/1082 cont./

115 human soul after death under the most disparate conditions imag-
197 inable, in sharp contrast to their own faith. I myself experienced
177 this. During a burial, while the corpse in the grave was being
covered with earth, an old man, in the helplessness of his grief, turned to me with the following words which sounded very scornful: "There he lies, my cousin. And yet you Europeans say: 'Every corpse will leave its grave and become that which it was in life.' No, there is no such thing!" This man, like all his countrymen, was simply not to be converted to the new teachings of the missionaries; he clung to the traditions handed down by his forefathers. They always know how to make a sharp division between their own indigenous body of ideas and newly introduced, foreign conceptions or views.

Furthermore, a characteristic feature of the religious ideas
116 of our Fuegians is their pronounced simplicity. The Supreme Being even lacks a proper name. Every Yamana is named after his /1083/ birthplace (p. 538). Is it not logical, therefore, that "the-one-up-there" has no such name because he was not born in the homeland of our Indians? Instead they use circumlocutions as ordinary social conventions. The names for the Supreme Being emphasize particular characteristics which are, however, intensified to the utmost. In both directions, therefore, tribal customs with regard to name-giving are transferred to him. If here below an aged person is shown general respect, all the more is this due the foremost and true "old one," Watauinéiwa. Similarly, the few remaining characteristics applied to him are part of the everyday events and social customs of the Yamana people. The fact remains, however, that he is a spirit and therefore exhibits forms of being that differ from people here on earth. Nothing specific is known about these forms. Truly, the Fuegian is consistent in his simple thinking, even concerning his deity.

Finally the considerable number and the diversity of their
192 prayer formulas must be noted. The archaic wording speaks for
197 itself. The Indians themselves vouch for the great age of these
197 short sayings because they contain many words and word combinations that have long since disappeared from ordinary speech. In addition there is the opinion of the aged John Lawrence and his sons who were well versed in the language and several times expressed

/1105 cont./

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active in mischief" /cited in English/. In this instance he (VP:VI, 129;1859) relied altogether on the uncertain accounts of J. Button.

older reports admit that both types of interment were simultaneously known and used, for example, Stirling (VSA:XI, 198;1864) and Despard (b):698. At first Bridges (a):206 says: "Adult persons both male and female when they die are burned shortly after by the nearest male relatives, but sometimes (especially the females) are buried. Little children are generally buried when they die" /cited in English/. Later he writes: "Usually they bury their dead, but often they are burned." I know of no other place where it is said that they differentiated between adults on the basis of sex for cremation; in fact, local conditions were decisive for both sexes alike. Outes (g):56 made a certain qualification which in this general form is surely unjustified. He says: "If the death came about as the result of a fight or murder, the corpse is generally not burned, but is abandoned" /translated from Spanish/. Finally Hyades (f):585 tried to find out "in what situation they preferred cremation. They often told me that their practice was always to burn the bones of interred natives after they had been buried a certain time, but surely cremation is sometimes swifter..." /translated from French/. These words even indicate interment twice, for which there is absolutely no certain proof. Most of my aged /1106/ informants had experienced actual cremations. Under the influence of missionaries and
•[177] European settlers this custom quickly had to give way to burial, which has been done exclusively for the last few decades. During the years when Bove (e):159 was transversing the south the following was still applicable: "Formerly the dead were burned, but nowadays this rarely occurs." According to my investigations, cremation was not the exclusive custom in olden times, but it was universal and predominant.

764 Not one of the authors mentioned above has described the procedure of burning a corpse. I, too, must rely on the accounts of my Indians who gave me the following description. The corpse, which is wrapped in a large piece of leather and tightly

/1382 cont./
X595 When the Kina is over, all their social life with its balanced harmony in the distribution of energy goes on as quietly and matter-of-factly as though no one knew anything about this performance, and no one feels that it is necessary to hold it again after a certain time.

There are several factors, therefore, that characterize the Kina as a foreign body in the total culture of the Yamana. It is true that they have made allowances for it now and then in their tribal life, but in such a way that the latter is not affected. The activity of the men in their secret gathering is not seriously meant as obvious hostility against the women, and besides it is at variance with the men's innermost nature. For this reason they justify their action by referring to the origin myth, although they do not remotely believe it possible that the women could rise up against the existing relations of the sexes. There are many indi-
•[177] cations that the Yamana have derived their men's celebration from the Selk'nam. W. Schmidt (d):954 has pointed out an important feature of the Kina in a general evaluation of such performances when he says: "Probably nowhere else in the world is the character of this men's celebration as a reaction of the men against the matriarchal superiority of the women so clearly expressed in an absolutely classic way in the myth itself." Space is lacking for further comparisons.

/1383/ F. The Medicine-Man System

X756 From the reports of missionaries and travelers it has long
171 been known that the Yamana are not without persons who function basically in the same manner and for the same ends as the well-known medicine men among the North American Indians. In the Cape Horn region they are called yékamuš. Their field of activity is extensive; the individual and the people in general must reckon with the yékamuš and are dependent upon them. If one compares the medicine-man system of our Yamana with that of the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 717), he finds many points of agreement. The details need not be compared here. It will simply be pointed out that, by and large, the rge of the

/1448 cont./

533 While the singing is going on, a person moves around the circle /1449/ and distributes a bit of meat or a roasted mussel to everyone present. The ihkyit of each person present abandons, so to speak, the body, which is bound to that place, and goes to the festival of the river bird. Far out on the high seas these ihkyit meet other ihkyit and those of their deceased relatives. The latter are hosts to the arriving ihkyit and they all enjoy themselves for some time. Toward the end of the gathering, the hosts motion with both hands as though they were grasping things and showering gifts on their guests. Thereupon these ihkyit take leave of one another and return to the hut from which they departed, the other ihkyit remain far out over the ocean. During the river song the ihkyit of a human being leave its body, exactly as it does when the person is drowning. The song is always sung solemnly and calmly; sometimes it is reminiscent of a true song of mourning. What the Tenena express with the word ihkyit in this explanation closely corresponds to what we Europeans call "state of mind" or "mood"; the river song is supposed to bring everyone back to calm mental balance after great mental agitation. Every yikamuk has a particular song that was given to him by his yuhkut (p.1518). The ihwinni song, with which the spirits of the sea animals, especially those of schools of herring and those of whales, are enticed, has a set melody, the consideration of which is reserved for the yikamuk (p.1599); in the east the ihwinni song is called owkwen-yikamuk, in the west, ayuhe-yikamuk. It is well known that a medicine man practices his calling only in the "dream state" into which he puts himself by his singing. This singing is also called ihyna-yikamuk because during it every medicine man makes contact with his spirits.

The yenikena may be regarded as a kind of jolly following; the designation ugalinkena is less common. Everyone may sing them wherever and whenever he chooses, following his own inclination without pressure from the outside. There are few people, however, who enjoy them and occasionally entertain their neighbors with them. My informants assured me that all the yenikena were first given to the western Tenena group long ago by the thinkwelup, and that later the former transmitted these songs to the central group. This also explains the fact that the word

533 117

A 663 cont. /

underlying the melody is a clearly recognizable Haisheweing word, not otherwise known among the Tamana. The word *ahwa*, as well as *ahgwihaiha* -- each of which is repeated in a separate melody -- are designated as genuine Haisheweing words. The sing heard on the latter word is called the "*pedima* of the drunken ones". It is sung with great merriment and accompanied by clumsy swaying of the entire upper part of the body. In Haisheweing the word *ha'ngwa* means "water, drinking water, alcoholic beverage" (Cuzinde [d] 1913). In another *pedima* the expression *pandin wihihe* is repeated. The word *pandin* possibly /1475/ found its way into Tamana only in recent times through the *pedima*, for otherwise they use only *andgwa*. This *pedima*, like the previous one, clearly shows that in the not too distant past the Haisheweing have transmitted one or another of their songs to the Tamana. Garcia and other informants assured me that in their youth, on trips through the west, they learned a song or two which was unknown in the central Tamana region. Just as today a jolly group will occasionally burst into a *pedima*, so, in earlier times, this was done on the rare occasion when a European ship passed by as a sign of joy and surprise. The Tamana mother is certainly not fond of singing, but it is true that one of them will occasionally amuse her baby with a *pedima*.

It is customary among the Tamana to pass around some pigment while singing is going on. Everyone present takes a little of it and paints his face, a sign that he is taking part in the singing. A single woman will sometimes sing the so-called *ahkjuna* song in jolly company. In the middle of it she will stretch both arms in front of her with the palms of the hands turned upward. Suddenly a little piece of charcoal will be lying on each hand, and with it she singes down lines on the face of everyone present. No one could tell me the meaning of all this (363).

363. On my last two trips through Tierra del Fuego I made phonograph recordings for each of the three tribes living there. E. M. von Hornbostel has arranged this material, but his comparative study, which I received in manuscript, can only appear in the third

/1417 cont./

S13 various songs, the diversity of body painting, and the delight in ornaments show the not inconsiderable aesthetic feeling of the Yamana. For an evaluation from the viewpoint of culture history, a distinction that was often pointed out to me is significant. The Yamana say: The ŕihwámi song and every yŕkamuŕ song are peculiar to the five ethnic groups alike, but the ŕjuer song, the

[1418] ŕjáwa song, and the paulma songs belonged to the Halakwulup and were first transmitted to the western Yamana, who gradually transmitted them to the central Yamana groups so that they, too, have had them since then.

d. Sociability

S11 As a result of the type of economy imposed on our Fuegians by their environment, the individual throughout most of his life is dependent upon himself alone or his immediate family. By nature he is capable of getting along by himself and of being self-sufficient. He is constantly stimulated anew by everything around him, and the pressure of food-seeking incessantly arouses his desire for action. Hence he can never be inactive for any length of time and become bored; his temperament is far too lively and active. He knows how to keep himself busy even if he has to be alone. There are many middle-aged and older persons who prefer continuous solitude far more than one visit after another by a related family or a family of friends. The Yamana has many inner resources and likes to give himself up to his own thoughts. He finds great satisfaction in sitting by himself and occupying himself in one way or another. Nevertheless, the great enjoyment that lively social intercourse can offer often drives one or another of them into the company of his fellows, where he can enrich his knowledge and his spirit and where mind and soul derive new stimulation. His happy nature comes into its own in group games; he is a very agreeable companion.

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

114 culture. If this large and expensive monograph is not accessible, the following more important papers may be consulted: Gusinde (1921–22, 1924, 1925 a, 1925 c, 1926 a, 1926 c, 1927, 1928 b, 1929); Koppers (1925 a, 1925 b, 1926 a, 1926 b, 1927, 1928 a, 1928 b).

For bibliographies of the *Yahgan* see: Cooper (1917), for sources, with comments on each, to 1917; Lothrop (1928), for sources from 1917 to 1928; Gusinde (1937), for selected and added sources, and for evaluations (pp. 48–101) of the publications of the more important first-hand observers.

19 **Language.**—The *Yahgan* language with its five mutually intelligible dialects constitutes a distinct linguistic family, with no known relationship to any other. The elder Bridges' *Yámana*-English dictionary, the one completed in 1879, contains about 23,000 words, a [114] carefully restricted, not a padded, list, as he himself emphasized (1933, p. xvii). *Yahgan*, in contrast to *Ona*, is markedly euphonic. There were no words for numerals beyond three, and none for fractions.

161 **Population.**—According to our first dependable estimates, the *Yahgan* population, in the third quarter of the 19th century, totaled between 2,500 and 3,000 souls. In 1881 a sharp decline set in. By 1884 numbers had dwindled to about 1,000; by 1886, to 400; by 1899, to 200; by 1902, to 130; by 1913, to less than 100; by 1933 to 40. The [164] immediate causes of the sudden drop in the eighties were the respiratory diseases and a severe outbreak of measles in 1884, followed by epidemics of typhoid, whooping-cough, and smallpox. Syphilis does not appear to have played an important role. Contributory, or rather [179] basic predisposing, factors were, it seems, the then introduced European ways of life, especially the clothing, but also the food, alcoholic beverages, and type of shelter and work.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

231 **Foods.**—The *Yahgan* had no domesticated plants, and no domesti- [241] cated animals except the dog. Whether the earlier pre-Columbian and post-Columbian *Yahgan* had dogs is uncertain. No bones of dogs have been found in early archeological sites in *Yahgan* or other Fuegian territory. The earlier explorers,—L'Hermite, 1624; d'Arquistade, 1715—make no mention of the dog in their descriptions of *Yahgan* culture, as none is made of it among the *Alacaluf* by the 15 accounts of them prior to Narbrough's of 1670. The dog was first recorded among the *Yahgan* in 1823 by James Weddell; it is recorded consistently thereafter by later observers (Cooper, 1917, pp. [257] 186–187). Dogs were not eaten.

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

342 quently used toward the east, was tipi-form, with a framework of stiff stout saplings or tree trunks.

The ground in the interior of the hut was often, but not always, scooped out, to a depth of 2, 3, or more feet (0.6 to 1 m.) beneath the outside ground level, and was usually covered with a little grass or [354] some branches. The fire was made in the center. The huts had one door, facing the sea; or else two doors, one facing the sea, the other being opposite.

172 342 Archeological stratification in the *Yahgan* area of Navarino Island shows an earlier culture with shelters like those still used by the *Alacaluf*, oval in ground plan, having two entrances, and without scooped-out pits; and a later one with circular shelters having one entrance, and with pits 12 to 18 feet (4 to 6 m.) in diameter, scooped out in some cases to a depth of more than 3 feet (1 m.) (Bird, 1938, p. 261). The two historic types of *Yahgan* wigwam, oval and circular, unpitted and pitted, may thus represent two chronologically distinct cultures.

342 Larger and more substantial huts were built for initiation rites (q. v., infra); sometimes very small ones, for the use of children. The *Yahgan* also at times used caves or made a very rude shelter of a few branches tied together or stuck in the ground.

177 342 At the time of Lothrop's visit in 1924–25, practically all the then surviving *Yahgan* were accustomed to pass the winter months at Puerto Mejillones and Porto Piedra, on Navarino Island, in huts poorly constructed of ill-fitting boards (Lothrop, 1928, p. 188). Loth- [237] rop (1928, p. 131) considers the use of the wing of a large bird for [356] sweeping out the shelter to have probably been the result of missionary influence.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 **Clothing.**—The chief garment, for men and women, was a small cape, of seal, sea-otter, or fox skin, sometimes of two or more skins sewn together—occasionally of bird skins—worn with the fur outside, covering the shoulder and breast or reaching to the waist, and held in place by a string across the chest. It was commonly shifted outdoors over the windward shoulder. Very frequently it was left off entirely. The women rarely if ever went without a small triangular pubic covering of bird skin or hide, held in place by a string attached to each upper corner and encircling the waist (pl. 33, *f*). No head covering was worn. Usually the *Yahgan* went barefoot, but sometimes when traveling or hunting on land they wore rather crudely made moccasins (fig. 12), resembling closely the *Ona* ones in pattern, of sealskin, with the hair outside, and stuffed inside with grass (cf. Lothrop, 1928, p. 124, photo). The eastern *Yahgan*, when hunting guanaco in winter, sometimes wore guanaco skin leggings, like the *Ona*, from whom they

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

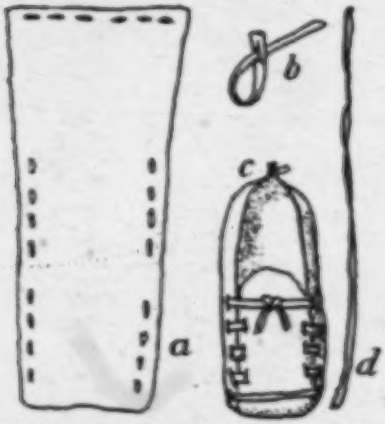

FIGURE 12.—Yahgan footcovers. (After Lothrop, 1928, fig. 46.)

291 probably borrowed them. The *Yahgan* occasionally used a rude fingerless working glove of hide. The clothing of the *Yahgan* seems to us utterly inadequate, given the climatic conditions—temperatures commonly around and well below freezing point in winter, high winds, frequent snow, hail, sleet, and cold rain—but in view of the seeming role played in their decline by introduced European clothing and their relative good health prior thereto, perhaps their clothing was reasonably well adapted to the environment.

302 **Hairdressing and depilation.**—The hair was worn loose, not in braids, and was often banged. Sometimes a sort of tonsure was worn. A sharp-edged mussel shell was used to cut the hair. For combing the hair, more commonly the jawbone of a porpoise or otter, or a toothed comb made of whalebone, was used; sometimes, a brush comb made of a bundle of roots (Outes and Bruch, 1910, p. 138) or of quills (Gusinde, 1937, p. 423). Depilation, with two mussel shells as tweezers, of all face and body hair was practically universal, for both sexes.

304 **Scarification.**—Scarification was practiced as a mourning observance and tattooing as an initiation rite (Gusinde, 1937, p. 963), but neither for ordinary decorative purposes. There was no head deformation, no ear, lip, or septum piercing, no body mutilation of any other kind.

302 **Painting.**—Smearing the head and body with grease or oil was as much protective as decorative. Face and body painting was common, sometimes with use of a small spatula. Only three colors—red, black, and white—were used. Red was derived from burnt earth, black from charcoal, and white from clay. Red symbolized peace;

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

of several skins sewn together, was sometimes set up—a practice whose origin, native or European, is uncertain. (For details on manufacture and use of canoe, cf.: Lothrop, 1928, pp. 142–145; 1932 a, pp. 251–253; Gusinde, 1937, pp. 433–457.)

After about 1880 the *Yahgan* began to give up their traditional bark canoes, and to adopt the dugout. Still later, prior to Lothrop's visit in 1924–25, the dugout had been entirely superseded by the dory, of European type and origin.

The *Yahgan* never adopted the plank boat from their *Alacaluf* neighbors and never used rafts or skin-covered watercraft, so far as our records reveal.

MANUFACTURES

Pottery, weaving, and metallurgy were entirely absent; no traces of pottery have been discovered archeologically in *Yahgan* territory.

String-making and sewing.—Plant fibers, plain, shredded, or braided, were used in basket making, canoe sewing, and for mooring lines, respectively; braided whale sinew, for necklaces, fishing lines, and tool and weapon lashings; braided guanaco sinew, for bowstrings; whalebone, in sewing canoes and for bird snares and fishline nooses; seal-hide thongs, for tool and weapon lashings, harpoon lines, basket handles, mooring lines, and bowstrings. Awls were made of bone and wood, unhafted. The drill was lacking.

Basketry.—Four techniques in basket making were in use: (1) Simple half-hitch coiled, the commonest type (fig. 13, *top*); (2) twisted half-hitch coiled, rarer (fig. 13, *center*); (3) knotted half-hitch coiled, not common (fig. 13, *bottom*); (4) a sort of wrapped type. The first three were of excellent craftsmanship; the last, very crudely woven, and used only as a dip net for catching very small fish. The material for all four was a rush (*Juncus magellanicus*). The coiled baskets were more or less oblong-spheroid in shape, and had a carrying handle of thong or plaited rush (*pl. 23, c*).

Skin dressing.—No process of dressing proper is reported. Seal-skins were stretched on the ground, covered with grass and moss, and left so for a while, to help dehair them. Drying frames were apparently used. The scraper consisted of a mussel shell lashed to a cylindrical stone haft. The *Yahgan* made thongs flexible by drawing them through their teeth or by chewing them.

Stoneworking.—Little use of worked stone was made except for arrowheads and, rarely, scrapers. The workmanship was crude. Archeologically, there are some traces of stone pecking and polishing (Lothrop, 1928, p. 203; cf. Bird, 1938).

Containers.—Cylindrical buckets (pl. 23, *e*), of *Nothofagus betuloides* bark, for carrying and holding drinking water and for bailing, were made by the woman, with the use of a barking tool dif-

415 furnit from the man's. Among other more used containers were: pouches of seal or penguin skin for holding small objects; bladders or windpipes of seals or porpoises for holding ocher and firestones; crops of geese and stomachs of seals for holding oil. (Cf. others in Lothrop, 1928, p. 133.)

412 **Tools.**—These have mostly been dealt with incidentally in the preceding sections. The hafted mussel-shell scraper, mentioned above under "Skin dressing," was also the common knife. Stone-headed daggers or knives were used by the earlier *Yahgan* (Cooper, 1917, p. 207). The stone celt or ax was lacking. Wedges were of bone; arrow polishers, of a bit of pumice.

411 **Weapons.**—The characteristic weapons used by the *Yahgan* both in hunting and in fighting were the spear and harpoon (fig. 11, *a–c*), the club, and the sling. The bow and arrow, in contrast to *Ona* usage, occupied a very subordinate position.

The spear shaft was quadrangular, hexagonal, octagonal, or decagonal in section, from 8 feet (2.5 m.) or less to 12 feet (4 m.) long; the shank, ordinarily of bone, with unilateral or bilateral single or serrate barbs and with notched tang, lashed to the split or slotted end of the shaft. The atlatl was absent. The harpoon, without toggle, was merely a spear with a detachable shank tied by a thong to the shaft. The club was a plain straight heavy stick. The cradle of the sling was of hide, the lines of braided whale gut.

Yahgan bows, arrows, and quivers closely resembled those of the *Ona*—a curved self bow, ranging from about 3 to 4 feet long, with string of seal hide or of braided seal, whale, or guanaco sinew; the arrow, without foreshaft, and with triangular stemmed and barbed head of stone, bone, or, more recently, glass; the quiver, rectangular, of skin, or tubular, of bark. Arrow poisoning was absent. Both archeological and ethnological evidence suggests that the *Yahgan* most likely acquired the bow and arrow after their arrival in their historic habitat, from the *Ona*. (Cf. Bird, 1938, pp. 261–263; Cooper, [illegible]; pp. [illegible].)

312 **Fire making and illumination.**—The only method of fire making was by percussion with flint and pyrites, bird down or dried fungus serving as tinder. Fire was carried around in the canoe on a hearth of earth, shell, or stones. Two-pronged tongs were in use. Bark torches provided illumination. Fire was employed not only for cooking, heating, and lighting, but also for signaling, straightening arrow and spear shafts, bending canoe ribs, felling trees, preparing bark for canoes and material for baskets, and other purposes.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE

Marriage and the family.—The sexes were kept separate after about the age of 7 and were warned by their elders against sexual liberties.

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

names meaning "The Powerful One," "The Highest One," and especially by the name of "My Father." He was not the maker or creator, but rather the master and ruler. He was the owner and giver of animals and plant food. It was he who gave life to human beings, and who took it away. He was fundamentally good and benevolent. He lived above in the heavens. He had no body nor had he wife or children. He was distinctly and eminently set off against and above all other spirits, good and bad, and in this sense stood as it were alone. He did not enter into the tribal folklore and mythology. He saw what human beings did, and upon those who broke the precepts of the *Yahgan* socio-moral code, which represented his will, he inflicted punishment in the way of early death, and often the death of their children.

The central rôle of Watauinéwa in the initiation rites has previously been mentioned. Apart, however, from these rites, Watauinéwa was prayed to a great deal by the individual *Yahgan*. These prayers were mostly petitions to him for food (as the owner of the food animals and plants), for cure and health, and for protection from the elements, as well as expressions of thankfulness. A good many of them were more or less traditionally crystallized formulae, of a few words each, but prayer was likewise expressed in free wording. A quite distinctive feature of *Yahgan* communication with the Supreme Being was the frequency of complaint expressions and charges directed toward him on the occasion of sickness, bad weather, or other evil fortune, and particularly on the occasion of deaths. Gusinde and Koppers collected over 30 of these various kinds of prayer formulae. Some of them are in somewhat archaic language.

In view of these archaisms in the complex, of the many distinctly native features (e. g., master, owner, not creator or maker), of the absence of all characteristically European or Christian conceptions, and of the express and emphatic statements by the natives whose memories or whose knowledge from their elders reached back to pre-missionary days, there can be no reasonable question but that *Yahgan* theism is aboriginal, and not the result of missionary influence. It seems equally clear that it was central in the religious outlook of the *Yahgan* and that it entered deeply and dynamically in their thoughts, emotional life, and personal behavior.

Shamanism.—A person became a medicine man (*yékamush*) through an inner call manifested to him in dreams and visions. The *hástaka-yékamush*, dwarfish spirits, appeared to him; a female spirit, a *Hanstillaktpa*, also played an important part in shamanism, as the shaman's helper. Through the dreams and visions the future medicine man learned which of the small spirits was to be his *yeshčel*, or particular guardian spirit. From this spirit he also received a song.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

feasible. Timber of many kinds is available—and with this we may contrast the condition of certain Eskimo who must rely on driftwood for some of their manufactures and on oil for their heat. Furthermore, animal foods are found by land and by sea in sufficient quantities to support a relatively large population of a non-agricultural, hunting class. 182

Clearly then some of the very primitive features we shall describe were not forced on the natives by their environment, but rather were the result of lack of ingenuity or of inertia.

CULTURE STATUS

Fuegian culture ranks among the most primitive that has been known within the limits of recorded history. To emphasize this statement we subjoin a list of all the articles and materials observed among the Ona and the Yahgan. This list at first glance seems fairly long, but one must consider that it embraces not only the individual but a complete family including both sexes and all ages. Further, it includes not what appeared for any given occasion but everything with which any Indian normally came in contact during an entire lifetime. In contrast, if the reader will list the objects he makes use of between bed and breakfast, he will find that in half an hour of daily routine he has utilized more articles and more materials than a Fuegian ever manipulated. 105

More justly, however, we should compare the Fuegian culture with the status usually found among Indian hunting tribes. On this basis we find that the Fuegians lacked such simple implements as the drill, the ax, the spear-thrower, fish-hooks, and cooking containers. They had no pottery, no weaving, no method of softening skins except by use, nor had they more than a rudimentary art of painting, while sculpture was beyond them. They rarely stored food against a time of stress. Their games, their social organization and ceremonies, were but slightly developed. Religion was largely a negative affair, for they indulged less in religious acts probably than any people known in the world in recent times. Animistic beliefs they had, but scarcely a trace of fetishism has been noted, and of totemism—so widely developed throughout the Americas—there is not a vestige.

In estimating this list it must also be borne in mind that the Ona and Yahgan cultures have intermingled especially along the frontier. In some instances, such as the initiation ceremonies or 105 177

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

105 177 the method of fire-making, the borrowing group made the introduced feature completely their own. But often the borrowed trait never became characteristic, and its use was only local and occasional. If these acquired features are subtracted the cultural poverty of each tribe is greatly intensified.

SUMMARY OF FUEGIAN MATERIAL CULTURE

105 171

Ona	Yahgan
Clothing	
robe	cape
slip	——
pubic covering	pubic covering
moccasins	moccasins (rare)
leggings (rare)	leggings (rare)
hunter's cap	——
shaman's cap (rare)	shaman's cap (rare)
——	mittens (rare)
Ornamentation	
anklets	anklets (rare)
wristlets (rare)	wristlets (rare)
necklace	necklace
paint	paint
tattooing	——
Houses	
skin windbreak	skin-covered dome of saplings
log tipi (rare)	log tipi (rare)
Transportation	
pack harness	canoe
walking-stick	paddle
——	bailer
——	mooring rope
Camp Equipment	
flint and pyrites	flint and pyrites
fire-tongs	fire-tongs
grease stone	grease stone
skin water-bag	bark bucket
——	shell cup
skin storage-bags	skin storage-bags
gut storage-bags (rare)	gut storage-bags
——	kelp storage-bag

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

PART II

CANOE INDIANS

THE YAHGAN

101 THE Yahgan Indians, the southernmost people in the world, lived on the southern shores of Tierra del Fuego from Brecknock peninsula to Spaniard harbor, and on the adjacent islands southward to Cape Horn itself (pl. IV). In spite of the tempestuous waters they confronted, they were a seafaring people and derived their livelihood almost entirely from the sea and its beaches.

172 Like the Ona, the Yahgan had to move freely and frequently in search of sustenance, but their camping-places were limited by the fact that each family was dependent on a fragile bark canoe, for which shelter must be provided. Thus favorable stretches of beach today are marked by great refuse-heaps, of most extraordinary size when one recalls that they represent only temporary stopping-places and that no family ever camped on a spot where it was known that a death had occurred. Centuries or even milleniums must have witnessed the building up of these vast agglomerations of bone and shell.

177 The Yahgan came under missionary influence in the middle of
197 the nineteenth century, and a permanent mission station was maintained among them from 1870 until recently. Hence their culture was much modified before they could be studied by trained ethnologists. For instance, by the eighties they had modified their initiation rites. We must add that among the Ona those without missionary training tended to survive the longest, but among the Yahgan the last survivors have almost invariably been mission reared.

142 Writing nearly a century ago, Fitzroy (pp. 137–139, 186) thus describes the untrammeled Yahgan of his day:

> The Tekeenica, natives of the south-eastern portion of Tierra del Fuego, are low of stature, ill-looking, and badly proportioned. Their color is that of very old mahogany, or rather between dark copper and

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

as much as five feet below the surface. Here the housetop need scarcely have risen above the ground level, and the people within must have been snugly lodged against winter gales. But the swirling smoke was a constant annoyance, and many accounts speak of the Yahgans' red and inflamed eyes.

Initiation or ceremonial houses differed from the living houses chiefly in size. In the west they were domed and oval in outline, as shown in pl. XIV. In the east they took the form of a heavy solid tipi-shape dwelling of logs like the Ona initiation lodge (fig. 38).

Under mission influence the Yahgan in late years built small plank houses of European type. A group of these was found at Puerto Mejillones and Porto Piedra on Navarin island which were used as winter quarters (pl. XVIII). They were wind- and water-tight, and some had wooden floors, bunks, and stoves. The material for their construction was begged, stolen, or picked up on the beach.

Camp Equipment

Yahgan camp equipment, in spite of superior transportation facilities, was just as primitive as that of the Fuot Indians, among whom every article, and the infants as well, had to be carried on the back. Strong and simple as are the objects below listed, they

FIG. 32.—Yahgan fire-making equipment. a, Flint; b, punch; c, tinder; d, pyrites. Width of bag, 3 in. (142357)

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

variant forms are seen in pl. x, *a*, *b*. For lashings on scrapers the Yahgan used either a seal-hide thong (*tuuuwáru*, pl. x, *a–c*) or else a braided whale-sinew line (*ápim*, pl. x, *d*) such as was employed for fishing.

Since the European settlement the natives have substituted a steel blade (*kéyšar*) for the shell whenever possible, and the resultant tool is called *ushun*. It is illustrated in fig. 66, *a*. They

FIG. 66.—Yahgan scraper and whetstone. Length, 11 and 9¼ in. (14/2367, 2325)

now also set the steel blade in a plit wooden handle in the same fashion as the Ona, as can be seen in pl. x, *c*.

The scraper was the most important tool to the Yahgan and served a great variety of purposes. Owing to the weight of the stone handle it could be used not only for scraping but also as a serviceable hand-ax. When the shell blade became chipped or dull it was sharpened on a stone (*ohípa*) with a long flat surface (fig. 66, *b*). In type this scraper corresponds to the Ona wood scraper (fig. 25, *a*).

In the old days before steel was available, the Yahgan are said to have used a tool like the transverse Ona flesh-scraper (fig. 25, *b*). This was denied by Yahgans whom I questioned, but was affirmed by Mr. William Bridges, whose statement was supported by the discovery of ancient stone blades apparently designed for transverse hafting (fig. 104, *b*, *c*). The abandonment of the transverse scraper may be due partly to the use of steel, but also may be accounted

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Yahgan *shélin*, which means "barberry" in general (*Berberis ilicifolia*). Shredded barberry was also employed as a towel after bathing.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

for on the ground that since the Yahgan have ceased to use skin houses and skin clothing they have much less need of such an implement.

2. KNIFE.—Ancient knife-blades from Beagle channel are described on page 190. In recent years the Yahgan, like the Ona, have made knives from any available scrap iron or steel.

FIG. 67.—Yahgan man's bark-working tool. Length, 31 in. (14/2332)

3. BARKING TOOLS.—The Yahgan employ two kinds of tools for removing bark from trees. One of these (*sánakef*), used exclusively by the men (fig. 67), is made from a large piece of the jaw-bone of a whale and has a blade usually at each end. The woman's tool (*téshapa*) is part of a guanaco leg-bone and consequently is much smaller (fig. 68); it has a single chisel-like blade, while the other end, the articular extremity of the bone, forms a convenient handle.

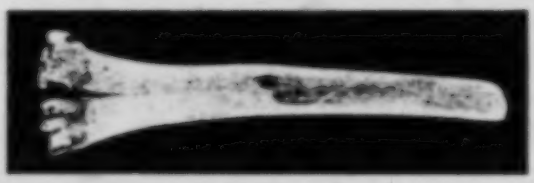

FIG. 68.—Yahgan woman's bark-working tool. Length, 9 in. (14/2331)

4. AWL.—The old-time awl (*áwi*) was a sharpened bit of wood or of bone (fig. 69, *c*, *e*), but in recent years the Yahgan have used a nail set in a wooden handle (fig. 69, *a*, *b*). Awls were employed for piercing skins to make clothes, housetops, and bags; to pierce bark in the manufacture of canoes, bailers, and buckets; and also for the weaving of baskets.

Like the Ona, the Yahgan had no drill, and so their material culture was limited by the fact that they were unable to make holes in such a relatively soft substance as wood.

5. HAMMERSTONES.—Usually present on Yahgan camp-sites are a number of stones which show marks of abrasion (fig. 70). The

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

When fully equipped, the Yahgan canoe carried the following articles: 501

two or more paddles
three kinds of baskets
two fire-tongs
four spears (fish, seal, crab, and limpet)
dip-net
club
grass mooring rope or thong
bark bucket
fish-line.

Such was the bark canoe in which these Indians often ventured far from shore and even attacked whales. Its great virtue was that it could be made with few tools; indeed in an emergency it could be created with no more than fire and a knife. Furthermore, its high pointed ends made it seaworthy. On the other hand, the seams often leaked and the beech-bark is brittle—much more so than the birch-bark of the North American canoes. The canoes of bark found nearest to Tierra del Fuego are those of Brazil. Their construction is so different, however, that there seems no possibility of relationship between the two types.

DUGOUT CANOE

The first dugout canoe used by the Yahgan was made near Ushuaia about 1880 by an Indian known as "John Furness." 501 176 177
This innovation apparently was an independent invention, instigated through the introduction of metal tools during the previous decade. At any rate the idea rapidly became popular, for the advantage of the stronger construction over the bark canoe was patent, and indeed the Alacaluf soon seized upon this type and abandoned their plank canoes.

FIG. 71a.—Yahgan dugout canoe. (Courtesy of J. L. Weld, Esq.)

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

501 In outline the dugout canoes resembled their bark prototypes, modified by the material of which they were wrought. Thus, through ineptitude or a fault in the wood, one end sometimes was not pointed but was cut off square. Into the opening a tail-board was then fitted. This usually leaked. The sides of the canoe often were raised by nailing on boards.

501 177

FIG. 74.—Modern Yahgan boat. (Courtesy of J. L. Weld, Esq.)

With the coming of Europeans the Yahgan adopted the use of oars and sails. The latter were raised on temporary masts and could be employed only when running before the wind.

501 177 The Yahgan bark canoe has gone entirely out of use today, and the writer was unable to discover an Indian competent to make one properly, although models can yet be obtained. The dugout canoe is still in use, but it is many years since a new one has been launched. The last double-ended dugout afloat (fig. 73a) was purchased and is now in the Museum. It is 16 feet 6 inches long, 3 feet wide, and 2 feet 7 inches deep. When purchased it had been in the water many years and was unbelievably heavy. Also it was the most unstable vessel in which the writer has ever set foot.

DORY

501 177 354 Today the few surviving Yahgan use a flat-bottom dory with square stern and high-pointed bow (fig. 74). This boat is of European manufacture and carries no mark of native identity except a fireplace. Today the fireplace is no picturesque affair of sod, but usually is an upright five-gallon gasoline tin, half-filled with stones, and with a hole cut in the side to facilitate the draft.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

indeed compared with Ona workmanship. The arrowhead was of bone, cut to the Ona pattern with two barbs; but it had a long tang and was loosely attached to the shaft with heavy lashings like the Yahgan spears. Notches in the blade of the specimen illustrated (fig. 85) suggest the lithomorphic prototype seen in fig. 105, *b*.

In the Peabody Museum at Salem are two old Yahgan bows, one the gift of Capt. B. Morrell, Jr., who obtained it in 1825, the other collected by Lieutenant Wilkes, probably at Orange harbor or Wollaston island. These bows, illustrated in pl. XIII through the kindness of Mr. L. W. Jenkins, are respectively 3 ft. 9½ in. and 4 ft. 1 in. from tip to tip. Though the general outline and cross-section recall the Ona bow, the fluting typical of the handiwork of that tribe is absent. Both specimens appear to be made of beechwood, but this has become dark through age, much handling, and the application of grease. Bowstrings are of guanaco-sinew; they are attached in Ona fashion with a slip-noose at the bottom (to the right in pl. XIII) and with several turns secured by a half-hitch at the top.

CLUBS

Yahgan clubs (*hóue*) are short stout sticks, painted red when new (fig. 85*a*). These weapons were intended for killing seal on

FIG. 85*a*.—Yahgan club. Length, 47½ in. (162371)

shore, or for killing birds at night with the aid of a torch of beech-bark (*ahirokue*). Also they were commonly used in fighting.

SLINGS

Slings (*aoiseel*) were an extremely effective weapon among the Yahgan, for some are said to have been so dextrous in their use that they often brought down flying birds. The usual sling (fig. 86) has a pouch of guanaco- or seal-hide suspended on braided whale-gut lines. The ends terminate in knots enlarged with a little guanaco wool. In discharging a stone, one knot is placed between the fourth and the little finger with the cord running across the palm of the hand; the other knot is held between the thumb and forefinger as the sling is whirled around the head.

The Alacaluf, as well as the Yahgan, were skilful users of slings, but of the Ona only those in the south had slings. At first glance

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
S306 Yahgan S16

411 177 It would seem clear that the Ona had acquired knowledge of this weapon from the Yahgan. However, the Ona word for sling (ahkshai) is not taken from the Yahgan, while slings are mentioned in a supposedly ancient Ona legend. Possibly then the Ona might not have borrowed the sling from their Yahgan neighbors, but in all probability they did.

Fig. 86.—Yahgan sling. Length, 37 cm. (16 in.)

BIRD-SNARES

411 Three different forms of snare were applied to the capture of birds by the Yahgan. In all of these, active prehensile function was performed by a noose of whalebone scraped thin to make it flexible. The simplest procedure was to set such a noose over a bird's nest during its absence. Also a series of nooses might be set on a bird stake driven in an open spot, and covered with suitable bait (fig. 88a). Finally, a whalebone noose was set on the end of a pole (ashrowe), as illustrated in fig. 87. With this implement it was possible to snare roosting birds during the night.

BIRD-CATCHING BY HAND

223 In addition to killing birds with arrows, slings, club and torch, and snares, the Yahgan sometimes took birds by a method which, if successful, often resulted in prodigally wasteful and unnecessary slaughter. At night a man would paddle silently to a rock where birds, preferably shags, as they are heavy sleepers, were roosting. He would steal silently ashore, and then seize the nearest bird with one hand around its wings and with the other hand pinch its windpipe so that it could neither flap its wings nor make an outcry. Then he bit off the head, placed the corpse on the ground, and went for the next bird. Thus with luck great numbers might be taken. But the steamboat duck (*Tachyeres cinereus*), a big sleeper, could seldom be captured by this method, and, if a few were roosting on the rock selected, they usually gave the alarm. Fitzroy (1839, p. 184) says that the Yahgan dogs were trained to catch birds by crawling upon them as they roosted during the night.